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Deputies Discuss Property Draft Law

AU1604145793 Tirana ATA in English 1001 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 16 (ATA)—On April 15, the People's Assembly discussed the draft law on the return and compensation of properties of ex-owners. The parliamentary group of the Socialist Party did not attend this sitting.

The deputies discussed extensively on the articles of this draft law and made suggestions on separate articles. They also made proposals to improve them taking into consideration the economic reform.

The People's Assembly will continue its proceedings on April 20.

Free Owners Hold Rally Protesting Property Law

AU1604180293 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Continuing their pressure on the parliament over the Law on the Return and Compensation of Properties, the Albanian Free Owners Association organized a peaceful demonstration in front of the presidency seat this morning as a sign of protest that parliament approved this law.

The statement distributed by this association a day ago warned of an unlimited-term general strike of the vendors of all private shops which were taken into private ownership during the last two years.

At the same time, ATA reporters found that private traders in all Tirana's main streets carried out their normally activity, alongside several food shops, former state shops, in Durres street and Shkoze, which were closed. Out of 57 shops in Kavaje Street, only three were state shops and they were closed. Out of 31 shops in Durres Street, only two were closed. Meanwhile, only one shop was closed in Diber Street.

Asked about their activity today, the majority of vendors called it a normal working day.

Cabinet Reviews Bills on Commerce, Investments

AU1704190293 Tirana ATA in English 0836 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 17 (ATA)—The meeting of the Council of Ministers reviewed the draft law on the arrangement of the activity of the chambers of commerce and industry, the encouragement and mutual protection of investments between the Republic of Albania and the Republic of Hungary, the draft decision on running lotteries and other games of chance, the organization and functioning of the treasury service on the wages and extra pay of military, and other draft laws and draft decisions.

PSDSh Chairman Gjinushi Addresses Congress

AU1704190093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Arben Karapici report]

[Text] [Announcer] The national conference of the Social Democratic Party of Albania [PSDSh] began in Tirana today. Let us hear a report from Arben Karapici:

[Begin Karapici recording] A year after its first congress, the PSDSh stated its platform at this conference. It calls itself a party of the left center and described its role and contribution to pluralism in the country.

Addressing the delegates and guests, PSDSh Chairman Skender Gjinushi said that the third-ranking parliamentary party has made a special contribution to consolidating democracy in our country. He particularly stressed the role of the party in parliament, a role which he called realistic and constructive. Gjinushi mentioned again the goals for party understanding in resolving local government problems, preserving equilibrium, and reducing unnecessary political and party tensions. Gjinushi said that the party has accepted the governmental democratic coalition.

Gjinushi assessed the Meksi government efforts to establish order and its successes in foreign policy. A year after the reform, the PSDSh sees positive signs in the forward march toward market economy. The achievements in this respect are evident and concrete. Gjinushi considered the government attitude in several areas to be sluggish and inconsequent. He said that the government is not able to control inflation and is not properly following the problems arising from the need for assistance to, and what Gjinushi called the absolute poverty of, several sectors of our population.

The party remains and will remain loyal to its social platform, Gjinushi said. He called on the Meksi government to change its policies and its structure. The PSDSh apparently considers the latest changes in the government to be insufficient.

Gjinushi said that the goal of the conference is to define new positions in conformity with the development of the economic and political situation that the country is undergoing. Gjinushi underlined the decisive conditions of the electorate, which is unstable. Under these conditions, he appealed for unity among the parties and political groups, unity which he described as indispensable.

After the Gjinushi report, the message of greetings that President Sali Berisha sent to the conference was read. In this message, Berisha describes the constructive position of the party as representative of the most positive leftist values. Berisha also reviewed the party's participation and contribution to the government coalition.

At the end of the first session, Democratic Party Secretary General Tomorr Dosti, representative of the

German Social Democratic Party Peter Rochenbach, and members from other sister European parties present greeted the conference. [end recording]

Social Workers Party Sends Letter to Berisha

AU1604193093 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Apr 93 p 1, 2

[Open letter to President Sali Berisha by the Social Workers Party]

[Text] The Social Workers Party is extremely worried about the violation of the most fundamental democratic rights of the workers, peasants, and employees during the peaceful demonstrations that they held to protest violence and dictate, as well as the unprecedented economic suffering.

The Social Workers Party relates all this stagnation and concern to your attitude toward democracy and the defense of human rights. We base this opinion on many concrete facts that all Albanians know, however, we are mentioning two or three facts just to express our proper concern.

1. The Constitution states that the president represents the unity of the people. The people are represented by more than 24 parties that express the interests of special groups.

The common denominator of all these parties is the establishment of democracy. This obliges you to maintain close relations with all political forces and not just with those represented in parliament, as you have anticipated, because you deprive us of our rights, do not respect pluralism, and are afraid of tolerant dialogue. As a matter of fact, we have very rarely seen you in the role of president. You have made many mistakes in maintaining the role of party chairman, something which not only diminishes the values of a president but also seriously damages national interests. By representing the interests of only one group against others, this reflects disunity rather than unity.

2. By applying democratic laws, the people went to the polls on 22 March and 26 July to express their verdict. On 23 March the Social Workers Party issued a statement to the news media, asking the Socialist Party to unfailingly respect the verdict of the people expressed on 22 March. We have expressed the same thing ever since 26 July 1992, asking the Democratic Party to respect the verdict of the people. We are now repeating this, since the government and its party are not respecting the people's verdict of 26 July expressed in the local elections.

The People's Assembly approved the law on local government before local elections were held.

We regretfully assert that this law has been locked in the desk drawers of the commune and district administrations. The government is hampering application of this law by creating anticonstitutional links that purposely impede local government. The people can tell this better than anyone else, as they wander in front of the doors of the committees and municipalities having no way out, but these bodies are deprived of all their prerogatives.

Our people have suffered too much. They are often reminded of the past. They recall the 1970's, when several directorates, directly dependent on ministries, were established in districts just as they are today. This was done in the name of the fight against bureaucracy, but in fact it was nothing but a bureaucratic and antidemocratic action.

The actions undertaken by the present government to obstruct local power are antidemocratic and insulting to the entire electorate. That is why this government should be discharged for this act alone, and those who bear the primary responsibility for this should be accountable to the law.

3. Democracy has guaranteed to the people the right of speech and the freedom of thought and belief and, as you say, Mr. President, has increased human dimensions.

The suspension of information through radio and television speaks of another serious attack on democracy. We consider this attitude to be antidemocratic, as the television station does not plan to broadcast a special weekly program, at least 10 minutes in length, available to all political groups, to relay their concerns to their followers and address remarks to the rest of the people. Freedom and democracy are precious. The people have demanded this for centuries. Even the most fierce dictatorships, such as that of Somozo, have spoken out for establishing freedom and democracy. So many have spoken out in this fashion. The bureaucratic caste of the Labor Party of Albania has spoken in this name, too. The government members have never lacked freedom and democracy, but the common people have lacked these things. These people have been subjugated as many times as there have been struggles for power. Viewed in this light, people today ask for pluralistic government of the country and not for single-party leadership, so much the worse as it is inclined to extremes.

For the sake of these long-suffering people, we ask you:

1. To abandon the party and become president of the people.
2. To release the local governments and liberate the people to walk freely.
3. To free the news media, giving free rein to freedom of thought and consciousness.

The lack of respect for these issues is the cause of the current confrontations which, if not avoided, will worsen and cause grave consequences among the people. Finally, the president of the republic is responsible to his own people.

Symposium Views Issue of Kosovo

AU1604164693 Tirana ATA in English 0831 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 16 (ATA)—The question of Kosovo and the Albanians in former Yugoslavia was the topic of the symposium that started its proceedings on April 15 in the morning in plenary session in the Palace of Congresses. It is organized by the Academy of Sciences of Albania and the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Republic of Kosovo.

This is the first symposium organized by the academies of sciences in this field since Albania started the road of profound democratic changes and since Kosovo was declared a republic.

The plenary session of the symposium was opened by one of the organizers of this symposium Gazmend Zajmi who gave the floor to Doc. Emin Riza, co-chairman of the organizing council of the symposium and representative of the Academy of Albania. Speaking of the great importance of this major event for the fates of the Albanian nation, the speaker stressed the peculiarities of its treatment at this time when great democratic changes are taking place in Albania, something which makes possible the fraternal and fruitful cooperation between the two Albanian academies far from the ideological and antinational prejudices of the past. While in the one half of the Albanian nation, the most inhuman Bolshevik violence was prevailing, in the other half the national violence towards the Albanians appeared in really unique proportions and features. Both these situations had a tragical convergence: to harm and why not to eliminate the great Albanian national question. Referring to the wise sentence 'Don't Make Politics When you Make History' and vice versa, the speaker pointed out the efforts of Serbian-Yugoslav historiography extremely politicize history.

Speaking further on, he underlined the events actually taking place in Yugoslavia, especially the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the threats to Kosovo under these circumstances. In conclusion, the author pointed to the tasks of the present historiography.

Further on the symposium continued proceedings in two sections, a and b, which treated the problems in the current and historical planes. Of special interest were the papers "Political Processes in the Dardans and the Illyrian-Arbnor Integrations" by Emin Shukuriu, "The Dardan State and the Illyrian State," by Dr. Neritan Ceka, "Kosovo and the Albanian Ethnic Territories in the Former Yugoslavia During Ancient Middle Ages," by Dr. Skender Anamali, and others.

In the course of democratic processes and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the question of Kosovo was considered under another institutional, political, and international light, the academician Gazmend Zajmi said in his address. The creation and institutional structure of the Republic of Kosovo on the ruins of the overthrown political autonomy of Kosovo granted by the Serbian power and the question of the free functioning of the Republic of Kosovo emerge at present as key links of the question of Kosovo in the context of the Albanian question. Hence the question of Kosovo enters a new historical stage, the road of the final realisation of the independence, a solution contributing to the Albanian question in general and to the inter-ethnic Balkan matters as well, he said.

Other topics discussed in the symposium were the annexation of Kosovo by Serbia in 1945, by Dr. Jusuf Bajraktari, "The Question of National Unity Under the Ethnic and Historical Light and Arguments" by Prof. Dr. Kristaq Prifti, "Demographic Questions of Kosovo and of Other Albanian Ethnic Territories" by Prof. Dr. Ivzi Islami, "The Violent Transfer of the Albanians From Kosovo and Other Territories After the Second World War," by Dr. Akif Bajrami, etc.

Attending this important scientific activity were also distinguished academicians from Albania and Kosovo and from Europe, known for their studies about the Albanian question. Present were also the Chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Pjeter Arbnori, the Premier Aleksander Meksi, foreign personalities with a known contribution to the Albanian question.

Berov Discusses Reform Prospects

AU1704192093 Sofia BTA in English 1859 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (BTA)—We are not in for harder times than we had last year and the year before last, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov believes. In the weekly TV Panorama political review tonight, he expressed his assurance that Bulgaria would find the place it deserves in the world.

The government has been implementing its programme and it will go on implementing it in future too, he said. The government cannot be expected to complete its one-year programme within one hundred days, he stressed. Listing the things the government has not done yet, the prime minister mentioned the lack of a project for the reform of health care and education and some weak points in the organization of privatization. The agrarian reform will be continued by reversing the land to its owners within real boundaries, Prime Minister Berov said.

Berov Interviewed on Political Situation

AU2004080593 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian No. 13, 13 Apr 93 pp 1,12

[Interview with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, by Danka Vasileva and Radostina Konstantinova; place and date not given: "The Members of Parliament Are Undermining the State While Legal Suits for Embezzlement Are Being Suppressed"]

[Text] [168 CHASA] You announced your intention to not demand any legal investigation against the former government, but we recently learned about quite a few shady transactions to the benefit of some of its members.

[Berov] Such things exist. To begin with, prompted by purely humanitarian considerations, it is better not to look back, but rather forward to the future. However, this is only possible under the circumstances of a normal political life. Considering the incredibly vicious personal attacks directed against me, considering the untruthful criticism that appears in some print media, I was forced to behave less like a forgiving Christian than was my original good intention.

[168 CHASA] If any facts providing evidence for corruption really exist, they should not be passed over in silence for the sake of Christian forgiveness.

[Berov] I am not talking about hiding facts, but to begin with, at least, I thought that we might avoid confrontation. We declared our intention to not act as a government of confrontation, and I offered my hand to Filip Dimitrov like a normal human being. Nevertheless, whoever shows his fist rather than stretching out his hand and goes abroad so often, deserves to be paid back with the same coin.

[168 CHASA] Nevertheless, is there a possibility to learn which of the former ministers has made illegal profits and what kind of profits they are?

[Berov] You should know that those who have done such things were not as naive as we are and that they have properly taken care of their affairs. Another institution of power, namely judicial power, still exists in Bulgaria and it is expected to assess whether someone has embezzled money or not.

It is not the government's job to provide evidence for legal offenses. Numerous legal suits for embezzlement, committed by the rural liquidation councils, and for other criminal cases are still pending, but they are simply disappearing like pools of water in the sand. I am not saying that our judicial system is not effective, but specific criticism against certain legal institutions and members of the judicial organs is justified. Hence, it is not a question of a lack of goodwill. The documents are being submitted, but the government is not entitled to establish who is a thief and who has misappropriated state property.

Specific obstacles also exist, such as a certain resolution of the supreme judicial organs in our country, according to which it is illegal to investigate Bulgarian companies abroad. Bulgarian law extends beyond the country's borders. You may be surprised, but such a resolution exists.

[168 CHASA] Does this apply to state-owned companies, too?

[Berov] The resolution mentions Bulgarian companies and is supposed to apply to state-owned and private companies alike.

[168 CHASA] Is this the reason foreign trade companies cannot be administered (by the government)?

[Berov] The government is entitled to take over their management but not to investigate them as long as they are situated outside the Bulgarian territory. I am not saying that the law court has adopted this resolution to anyone's advantage, but such are the facts.

[168 CHASA] A secret office exists at the Council of Ministers headquarters whose doors were unlocked at the insistence of the daily 24 CHASA. It turned out that the office contains the documents of foreign trade companies and that some files were taken out. Nevertheless, no one has ever tried to understand what kind of documents were really stored in that secret room. How would you explain this lack of interest on the part of the government?

[Berov] No one was aware that such a room with files existed at all. Stoyan Denchev [not further identified] told me that the files were handed over to him, but you understand that we need time to assess the contents of the documents and to find out whether they are telling the truth....We will try to do something from now on, but it would also be some sort of investigation. Let us say that about 100 documents about a given company are available to us—who guarantees that only those 100 documents related to the company exist? Perhaps 300 others exist, which have disappeared from the files....

[168 CHASA] You are accused of having placed the present government in a state of international isolation.

[Berov] That is not true. From now until the end of 1993 we are expecting at least seven to eight visits by heads of state and foreign ministers. I am expected to leave for Copenhagen on Monday [12 April], and I am also going to Moscow. As you see, there is no isolation, it is only some people's wishful thinking.

[168 CHASA] One of the reasons for the talk about isolation is related to the postponement of the agreement with the International Monetary Fund [IMF].

[Berov] It has nothing to do with international isolation. The IMF is not the world. It sometimes plays a useful role for financing the stabilization of certain countries that are in a difficult situation. The IMF proposes a limited—and I insist on the word "limited"—financial assistance under certain conditions that the fund has in one way or another, correctly or incorrectly, defined as the basic parameters of its own policy. I would not like to comment on whether they are the best. The financial assistance of the IMF is not a free gift, it is a credit that is supposed to be paid back. We should not overemphasize the term "financial assistance," but we should accept it as a concept. In 1993 this assistance was less substantial because the United States refused to contribute to the fund's capital and because the U.S. contribution is worth approximately half of all the contributions.

Another thing that is very important to us is the close cooperation between the IMF and our creditor banks. They are saying: "All right, we will sign an agreement, but only if you are ready for a compromise with the IMF...." I would not like to comment on such conditions, because they involve certain delicate problems, but I would like to emphasize that a connection exists and that it should by no means be underestimated.

[168 CHASA] Ivan Kostov [former finance minister] is trying to imply that the IMF is intentionally imposing new conditions because it does not trust your cabinet.

[Berov] Well, if you want to discuss such awkward subjects, I can tell you that certain people, who will readily reveal their identity to you, are constantly visiting abroad to deliberately incite distrust in our present government. I even dare say that they, in spite of not being cabinet members, are conducting certain parallel negotiations on a future solution for Bulgaria's foreign debts.

[168 CHASA] Are you talking about Ventseslav Dimitrov and Filip Dimitrov?

[Berov] No, I am not telling you who they are; this is for other people to say. There are three of them. A picture even exists showing certain people coming out of a certain building. Hence, let us ask point blank, who is engaged in subversive activities and why he is doing so?

[168 CHASA] This is a very serious accusation you are making, namely that someone is undermining the interests of our state.

[Berov] Unfortunately, it is true. It is unpleasant, but it is a fact, and it happens all the time. It is not a question of common people doing such things, but of people who are holding public office, at least in our legislative institution.

[168 CHASA] What about the situation of the "Sofis" Company?

[Berov] A project exists on merging "Sofis" with other estates that once belonged to the Recreation Fund. The idea was to merge them into a new social welfare fund that would have its own income and sources of revenue. This fund would be authorized to offer special vouchers at reduced prices granted to specific categories of people who will be selected on the basis of a decree or a legislative act according to their income. Naturally, the fund will be managed by an administrative council, thus preventing any misappropriations and illegal profit whatsoever.

"Sofis" will be transformed, while the Recreation Fund is expected to be reregistered, which makes it possible to create a new legal body. Nevertheless, this is still a project.

[168 CHASA] What about the property of the other totalitarian parties and organizations?

[Berov] The law stipulates that their capital should make profits for social welfare purposes, which has not happened so far. A serious problem has also emerged regarding the future of the Bulgarian Communist Party headquarters, the so-called Party House. As you know, several proposals on its future use have been submitted so far. There have been suggestions to transform it into a hotel or to rent its premises. However, a decision of the National Assembly exists, according to which the Party House should be placed at the service of parliament, which is in total contradiction with the law. Unfortunately, being the executive power, we must accept the National Assembly's decisions as legal acts and are obliged to implement such acts.

[168 CHASA] Are the lawsuits against the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] expected to be pursued? Party leader Zhan Videnov declared their suspension as a condition for supporting your cabinet.

[Berov] Zhan Videnov is a decent and sensible man, and he realizes perfectly that this question does not concern the government; it applies to the competence of the court. If a certain group of deputies, not necessarily belonging to the BSP, submit a new bill on the issue, and if it is approved, I do not see any reason to question the suspension of the law suits. However, we are obliged to implement the laws currently in force, hence, there is no other solution, and this was, precisely, our reply to Videnov's remark.

[168 CHASA] Nevertheless, from his statement it appeared that you have already reached a certain compromise on the question.

[Berov] Some minor requests were made, which were totally justified. According to the former legislation, the Council of Ministers was supposed to guarantee normal working conditions for the political parties, and at an earlier stage it was even stipulated that the government should provide the political parties with a certain number of motor vehicles, and so forth. The Ministry of Finance issued an instruction on allocating 33 limousines and one bus. There is nothing illegal about that. The only illegal thing about it is that the delivery had not taken place to this day. This was one of the results of my conversation with Mr. Videnov. Would you call this a compromise? We simply carried out a decision that was made at an earlier stage.

[168 CHASA] The BSP demands personnel changes in your cabinet. Do you intend to give in?

[Berov] Political life and the activities of a government in particular always amount to finding a point where the interests and requests of individuals, political parties, movements, and so forth converge. Hence, we must examine all coinciding interests and assess whether they are in conformity with nationwide interests.

[168 CHASA] Hence, the personnel changes should be expected to conform with the requests of the majority?

[Berov] Yes, but they should also conform with my own assessment. Ministers will be appointed for the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Transportation. The Ministry of Education and Culture will be divided into a Ministry of Education and a Ministry of Science and Culture. The latter should also be in charge of higher education. Hence, the change is not expected to affect the present minister but rather the ministry as such (which is now called a "wardrobe" on the account of being in charge of three sectors, like a three-section wardrobe). Nevertheless, there has also been some criticism of the minister, especially regarding his work in the sphere of secondary school education. In addition to this, a division requires new people, anyway.

[168 CHASA] Have you already found them?

[Berov] I briefed the three parliamentary groups on the subject, and I am awaiting their proposals, but in the long run, it is the prime minister who decides.

[168 CHASA] What about Neycho Neev, who is nicknamed "the minister-cabinet" considering that he is in charge of so many sectors that he seems to be managing the cabinet single-handedly? Do you really consider him competent on all matters?

[Berov] Mr. Neev is an engineer, hence he is supposed to have some technical notions, while he is familiar with transportation problems, at the same time. In the future Mr. Neev is expected to fill only one post, namely that of a deputy prime minister.

[168 CHASA] Why did you not persuade Sofiyanski [head of communications department who was dismissed for his close affiliation with the Union of Democratic Forces] to resign on his own rather than dismissing him by a vote at a government session?

[Berov] How do you persuade an individual to hand in his resignation? By forcing him to do so at gunpoint?

[168 CHASA] Neverthless, did you suggest to him that he should submit his resignation?

[Berov] Yes, I did suggest it to him, but he refused by saying: "No, it is you who must dismiss me!" This is what I did. It is as simple as that.

[168 CHASA] The budget is estimated on the basis of a 60-percent annual inflation rate. Do you think that this is a realistic assessment?

[Berov] Maybe inflation should be expected to be higher. What we are trying to achieve and what I presume we will succeed in doing is to prevent inflation from exceeding last year's rate, namely 80 percent. However, we are firmly convinced that inflation should not be expected to exceed 60 percent, hence we rely on that figure. This was also the view of the IMF, and they consented to approve this basis for drafting the budget. Naturally, the budget will be updated no later than September or October 1993.

[168 CHASA] The daily DEMOKRATSIYA accused you of having allocated much more substantial funds to the Presidency and the government, compared to Filip Dimitrov's cabinet, while the defense budget was reduced by half.

[Berov] The total budget was drafted on the basis of a general principle, namely that the 1992 expenditures should be increased on the basis of a rate reflecting inflation. Hence, it is not possible that some ministries should be granted only half of last year's budget means, while others should be allocated twice as much. Every ministry is allocated a higher budget than that of 1992, as long as it has not not undergone any administrative changes.

Nevertheless, no one has disclosed the real deficit of the 1992 budget as yet, and no one has told us how it was originally drafted. We inherited at least 4-5 billion leva of unpaid amounts from last year's budget. The losses suffered by the National Power Engineering Company and by the Bulgarian State Railroads in 1992 were left as our debt. Their value alone amounts to approximately 4 billion leva. Let us not even mention some minor amounts.

[168 CHASA] What kind of revenues are you expecting from the sphere of privatization?

[Berov] I must admit that our expectations are limited in this respect. At least for the time being, we do not have enough volunteers eager to get involved with privatization. As far as we are concerned, there is much goodwill to accelerate this process on our part. We have set up a working group in charge of improving the legal basis. We have created the administrative prerequsites for an intensified privatization, but there are no volunteers willing to buy. Several factors are responsible for this situation. In the first place, ample opportunities exist for evading the law and transforming a given state enterprise into private property without paying for it. In the second place, everyone tries to make money more easily, and the easiest way is to engage in commercial transactions.

[168 CHASA] Nevertheless, some tax alleviations would be likly to stimulate production.

[Berov] It is possible, but not on a large scale. The principle we are trying to promote along with the budget is that all taxpayers should be treated on an equal basis. Negative experience has been accumulated in this respect, regarding the establishment of various foundations, while some people managed to accumulate something more than experience through that experience.

Neev Views Power Supply Problems, Plans

AU1904122393 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 15 Apr 93 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Neycho Neev by Sonya Gulubarova; place and date not given: "Time Rejects Statesmen Who Are Sleepy and Do Not Work 16-18 Hours"]

[Excerpts] [Gulubarova] Mr. Neev, the people say you can work till you drop, that you are a genius, and you are not well....

[Neev] Nonsense. This is a result of our inherent inclination for intrigues and our enduring laziness and lethargy. [passage omitted]

[Gulubarova] One reason reporters often write about you is your large-scale plans to build bridges, gas pipelines, roads....

[Neev] What do you want, that we build monuments instead? Everyone understands that we cannot build a second nuclear power plant in a month. It is also clear that the capacity of the existing nuclear power plant will be exhausted in 20 years. This means we must confront our problems now. That is why I became head of the power supply system—to work out a clear concept for its structural development. I shall listen to all sides that have a position on this important issue, and then propose two programs for developing the system. The first will be a short-range one, until 2000; the other will be until 2010. Naturally, we must begin with the price of the electricity, so that it reaches its real rate by mid-1993. This will immediately change the situation within the branch itself. The issues of the inflated payroll and obsolete equipment will be resolved. Electricity consumption will be curbed. It will become clear what enterprises consume a lot and pretend they are profitable while actually ruining our economy.

[Gulubarova] Will we continue to be afraid every time one of Kozloduy's reactors is switched off?

[Neev] It is clear that the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant was constructed according to technology that does not correspond to the contemporary level. However, this plant produces 30-50 percent of our electricity. We need additional capacity if we are to be protected against accidents. The variant I am proposing includes the construction of two gas power plants within two years in Silistra and Yambol. I have already issued instructions to study our gas economy in order to check the efficiency of the enterprises that use gas. The financing of the project is guaranteed by the Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary Program [PHARE]. The amount we use now is identical to the amount used by Hungary, but apparently, we do not utilize it properly. In Hungary the power supply for apartments is gas-based and there is no power supply crisis. However, this variant is not final. What happens if the supply of gas from the former USSR decreases or stops?.... This means that we will have to analyze the future activity of our thermoelectric power supply plants.

[Gulubarova] Are things also so ambiguous regarding transportation?

[Neev] Naturally, the main thing is to envisage all the possibilities, calculate the effect, and select the most beneficial one for our country. Now everyone is relying on the budget. We need hundreds of millions of dollars for our railroads alone. The state could subsidize only the social aspect of the issue—passenger transportation. Everything else related to railroad transportation must be modernized. Now we are preparing a program, and if we show our ability to revive the system in any way with this program we will seek foreign credits. We have already begun to cooperate with foreign companies in renewing our railroad transportation system. If we decided to build a new bridge over the Danube, a new airport, and a highway to the south we would again rely on foreign investments. Those three projects alone would create tens of thousands of jobs. In addition, such construction will improve our self-confidence as a nation.

[Gulubarova] What will happen to your ideas and projects if tomorrow you no longer are minister of transportation and chief of the power supply system?

[Neev] I will still be deputy prime minister, and I will make sure that the government adopts those projects that are most promising. I am convinced that the cabinet is composed of professionals and is able to make the right decisions.

Bulgarian Soldier Killed in Cambodia

AU1904193393 Sofia BTA in English 1601 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 19 (BTA)—At 02:35 hrs this morning one hundred and fifty Khmer Rouge guerrillas attacked the village of New Oral in Samrong district, Cambodia, guarded by the Bulgarian UNTAC [United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia] forces, the Bulgarian Defense Ministry announced referring to a report by the command of the Bulgarian Blue Helmets battalion in that country. According to the commander of infantry company 2 of the Bulgarian peacekeeping unit in Cambodia, Captain Yordanov, the village was under fire for two hours by the Khmer Rouge who used mortars, automatic weapons and B-40 rockets. A squat led by infantry battalion commander Captain Krustev was immediately sent in an armoured personnel carrier there. Upon reaching the village the vehicle was hit by an anti-tank grenade. Private Ventseslav Angelov Mirchev, a grenadier of Infantry Section 1, Platoon 2, died. He was the ninth peacekeeper, four of them Bulgarian, to be killed in Cambodia in the past three weeks. Sergeant Doncho Stoychev Donchev, who was driving the armoured personnel carrier, Sergeant Marin Viktorov Bachalov, Junior Sergeant Martin Ivanov Vuchev, Private Atanas Kristov Peychev and Private Angel Metodiev Boykov were injured as a result of the explosion. However, their wounds are not serious. The injured were sent to the UNTAC military hospital in Phnom Penh. Their lives are in no danger. One was released after treatment.

Having been familiarized with the situation, a group of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army, including representatives of the Bulgarian National Assembly and of the Presidency, which arrived in Cambodia on April 16, left for the place of the incident immediately. Later on there was a meeting of Lieutenant General Iliev, Bulgarian Army General Staff deputy chief Ivan Palchev, Deputy Chairman of the National Assembly National Security Committee, Colonel Kunchev of the President's Military Office and Yatsuko Ahashi, special representative of the United Nations secretary general for Cambodia, in Phnom Penh.

Before leaving for Washington today, Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev spoke to journalists extending his condolences to the family of private Ventselslav Mirchev killed last night in Cambodia.

"It is very sad that such tragic events have become more often of late, but obviously we should get accustomed to such things because there are blue helmets sent out every day in coffins from Yugoslavia and some other places. This is Bulgaria's contribution to the efforts to safeguard peace in the world," Dr. Zhelev said among other things.

Besides the four Bulgarian peacekeepers killed in action, another three Bulgarian soldiers died in non-military accidents in Cambodia.

Today an initiative committee of the families of soldiers from Stara Zagora (Bulgaria) serving with the United Nations peacekeeping force in Cambodia sent a declaration to the National Assembly chairman and BTA insisting that parliament should adopt a decision for the withdrawal of the Bulgarian blue helmets from Cambodia. "Otherwise we declare that on April 23, at 08:00 hrs, we will form a live chain round the building of the National Assembly," the declaration reads.

"We call upon the families of Bulgarian soldiers in Cambodia all over the country and upon all people supporting us to join the protest actions," the declaration goes.

Drug Addiction Among Children Increasing

AU1904191893 Sofia BTA in English 1533 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Orlin Dzhelepov report]

[Text] Sofia, April 19 (BTA)—A boom of drug addiction has been observed of late in Bulgaria which has hit the rising generation first of all. While in the 1980s narcotics were trafficked via Bulgaria in transit, now a large part of them are marketed in this country, specialists say.

There are about 1,500 drug addicts on record in Bulgaria, and police statistics show them to be 5,000, but both figures seem to be far from their actual number. According to police sources, 25 kilogrammes of heroin or 48,000 doses are sold in Sofia every week, judging by this, there must be about 7,000 drug addicts in Sofia taken alone. It is supposed that there are about 15 or 20,000 drug addicts in the country.

Specialists say that school children have been most badly hit by drug addiction. According to Associate Professor Filip Lazarov, head of the drug addicts treatment clinic in Sukhodol (near Sofia), the age of young people using narcotics has gone down sharply - now they are children between 13 and 14 years old. His estimates show that about 12-15,000 young people use strong stuff—heroin first of all. The figures do not include children under 10 who, according to Mr. Lazarov, resort to the so-called "drug addiction of the poor" - inhaling synthetic glues. A large part of young drug addicts are "beginners."

The technology which vendors use in distributing their stuff is aimed at arousing children's curiosity. A kind of a denier mechanism rejecting prohibitions is at work in children's consciousness which prompts them to make the first fatal step. Street vendors offer their commodity at dirty cheap prices compared with the level of costs prevailing in the world narcobusiness—under 15 dollars a gramme. Heroin has even been made available to children free of charge—to win over customers. Specialists expect that narcotic prices will shoot up in the next months, which will result in young people's committing crime to raise money for buying the stuff.

The survey which Dr. Lazarov's team has made shows that drug addiction is to be found in different degrees in the various ethnic groups. Opiates are used mainly by persons of Bulgarian origin, while "the drug addiction of the poor" is practiced by the Gypsy population, school children and children of Bulgarian origin mostly. According to specialists, drug addiction among the Turkish population is rare.

Specialists predict that if measures are not taken by the state, the society will soon be faced by a practically unsolvable problem. No national or regional drug control programmes have been developed in Bulgaria so far.

Most Believe Country Moving in Wrong Direction

AU2004121193 Sofia BTA in English 1040 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 20 (BTA)—Recently Bulgaria has been going in the wrong direction, according to more than half of the respondents to a poll taken by BBSS Gallup International. The poll results appeared in today's 24 CHASA.

Fifty-five percent of those interviewed disagree with the statement that if Bulgaria proceeds in the same direction, things will gradually improve. As many people do not expect a successful future for themselves. Merely one in five respondents is pleased with the progress of change, and one in three does not know, the pollsters found.

"Attainment of national concord on the crucial matters and end to political confrontation" is the most important condition for solving the current problems, listed by 52 percent of those polled. Thirty-two percent pin their hopes on a fast and sweeping privatization. The privatization euphoria of two or three years ago has been dashed by the empty pockets and subsistence difficulties confronting most Bulgarians, 24 CHASA comments. Twelve percent of the interviewees want a restoration of the positive elements from before the fall of the communist regime on November 10, 1989, and 8 percent insist on denying communists a chance to influence political and economic life.

"Whoever may come to power, it would make no difference to ordinary people," 76 percent of the respondents believe. Almost half of them think democracy should be restricted and that order in the country should be restored, writes 24 CHASA.

Havel, Kovac Telephone Discussion on Property

LD1604230293 Prague CTK in English 2030 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Prague/Bratislava April 16 (CTK)—In a 15-minute telephone call today, the Czech and Slovak presidents, Vaclav Havel and Michal Kovac discussed former Czechoslovakia's property division, but nothing has has been announced about the contents of the discussion.

The two presidents' spokesmen, Ladislav Spacek and Anton Bodis respectively, said Havel and Kovac would inform the Czech and Slovak premiers about their discussion.

Bodis said he did not know who had initiated the discussion. He could not say either whether Havel and Kovac discussed the super-zero variant for the division of federal property which was mentioned by Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus on Thursday. But he added that Kovac had not dealt with the proposal.

Klaus said on Thursday that if the Slovak-proposed zero variant should be applied in the division of federal property, then he would accept only a super-zero variant which would do for ever with any property problems in relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics.

The Slovak zero variant was proposed earlier this month after the two parties failed to reach agreement on the division of all former federal property as the Slovaks made new claims.

Havel Discusses Czech-Slovak Property Division

LD1804141393 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Interview with President Havel by Petr Stiegler at Prague Castle; date not given; "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Stiegler] In [previous] conversations at Lany we have already mentioned the division of the property of the former federation. This week there has been a new development. You spoke on the telephone with Slovak President Michal Kovac, and the so-called super-zero variant has started being discussed. Could you please tell us more details about your talks with President Kovac?

[Havel] [passage omitted] We would like—and are very much committed in this respect—to sign all the property agreements in the form in which they were prepared and at the soonest possible date, no later than the end of April. It may happen that we will not succeed. It may happen that the agreements will not be signed. Not because the Slovak side lacks the will to conclude this matter and sign but due to other and more complicated reasons linked to the difficult economic circumstances of Slovakia and also to the political atmosphere in Slovakia, etc. And should we get stuck to the extent that there are no prospects for signing these agreements, there is a debate starting about a second, less favorable, somewhat substitute alternative—a possibility which our prime minister called a super-zero solution. Maybe I should explain the difference between the zero and super-zero variant. Incidentally, I have also explained this to President Kovac, and he expressed a lot of understanding for this Czech position. The zero solution would mean that those debts which the Slovak side owes the Czech side would be compensated for and turned back to nought by the recognition of those new Slovak claims which have sprung up recently—that is, some kind of compensation for the national flag, for the villages which after the war fell to Poland and before that belonged to the Slovak state, and the so-called know-how of the federal institutions. All these three claims of the Slovak side are not acceptable to the Czech side. And to adopt the idea that the Czech Republic would recognize these claims and everything would thus be reduced to zero is unacceptable to the Czech side. And that would be the so-called zero solution—that mutual claims would thus become zero.

The principle of the super-zero variant which our prime minister speaks about means that there would be no debate at all about who owes what to whom but it simply would be stated that as from a certain moment everything is settled, nobody is to submit any further property claims, some kind of full stop or bottom line is to be drawn under the whole issue. The Czech side would, of course, lose money but the question stands whether this loss would not be worthwhile because it could be a kind of point of departure for future, truly good relations between our two republics. Otherwise it would be a boulder that would continue to burden our relations and the question stands whether its consequences would in the end not be more expensive for us then the mentioned loss.

I read in the papers that these receivables of the Czech National Bank would then in fact have to be paid by the state. The amount involved represents approximately 24 billion korunas. This means, when re-calculated, that over the years every citizen would pay approximately 2,500.

I do not want to speak for the others. My personal impression, though, is that should the main obstacle to the good coexistence of our nations be removed in this way, it would in my opinion be worth it. Even more so when there is no hope that this debt would be paid back by the Slovak side. This does not mean that something should be paid. It is merely an acknowledgement of this debt. The ways and the time of repaying it is a different matter. It is very unlikely that with the current, not very easy economic situation of Slovakia the Czech National Bank would ever see any of this money. [passage omitted]]

Possible Political Consequences of EC Embargo

AU1604175493 Prague CTK in English 1500 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Copenhagen April 14 (CTK correspondent)—The ban imposed by the European Community (EC) on April 8 on the imports of livestock, meat, and dairy products from Eastern and Central European countries will have great negative political consequences, Pavel Bratinka told CTK here today.

Bratinka, Czech Deputy Foreign Minister, attended a two-day conference on economic development in Eastern and Central Europe which ended in Copenhagen today.

The EC brand has been perceived most positively in the Czech Republic up to date, he said but added: The ban on imports of meat and dairy products, justified by the suspicion of the occurrence of the foot and mouth disease, will be followed by (Czech) people's coming down to earth.

Bratinka warned against possible attempts by the forces, which are not interested in building a market economy, to abuse the current tension in relations between the Czech Republic and the EC.

He specially mentioned the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC) and the Liberal Social Union (LSU).

All the parties are represented in the Czech parliament.

Bratinka thinks that the application of retaliatory measures against the EC would not be the best solution because its consequences would harm the Czech Republic as well.

He said he had refused to join the Visegrad group's statement on the meat imports ban. Bratinka pointed out that the Polish decision to suspend meat imports from Eastern Europe as well is pointed against the Czech Republic and the spirit of the Visegrad group.

The group is made up of the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary, and Poland, and its major purpose is to promote regional cooperation.

At a press conference held in conclusion of the conference, Bratinka said he was satisfied with the conference results. He mainly appreciated the statement by Leon Brittan, in charge of the EC's external trade relations, that the meat imports issue should be solved by April 21.

Bratinka said the Czech Republic would seek admission to the EC separately, not within the Visegrad Group. He expects the Czech Republic to become an EC member by 1998.

In reply to a question whether the Visegrad Group would be extended, Bratinka said he was against any such proposals.

Klaus Rejects Appeal To Retaliate Against EC

AU1904130393 Prague CTK in English 1951 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 15 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus refused today to introduce any retaliatory measures against the European Community (EC), as requested by Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM).

Svoboda made his appeal in view of the EC's ban on imports of meat and dairy products from Central and Eastern Europe including the Czech Republic.

The radical retaliatory measures you demand cannot be effective if only with regard to the Czech Republic's possibilities, Klaus wrote to Svoboda, reacting to his open letter of April 12.

In his letter Svoboda said that if radical measures were adopted by the Czech Republic, it would make it clear for all countries that the Czech Republic and its citizens were not going to be a place where the advanced countries could solve their marketing crisis.

Klaus called Svoboda's demand for the introduction of protectionist measures a poorly disguised demand for isolation of the Czech Republic from Europe's advanced countries. In fact this demand would return the country to the path which we had left in November 1989 (when communist regime in former Czechoslovakia was toppled-ed.), Klaus wrote.

What you suggest is not only an unacceptable but also inapplicable attempt for travelling to the communist past, Klaus said.

Poultry, Fish Exempted From Meat Import Ban

AU1904144593 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 14 Apr 93 p 2

["rm"-signed report: "Poultry and Fish Without Restrictions; Veterinarians Specify Protective Measures"]

[Text] The ban on the import and transit of live animals and food and raw materials of animal origin that the Czech Veterinary Administration (SVS) issued on 12 April was supplemented yesterday with some measures that detail the ban. Eduard Slanec, head of the SVS Food Hygiene Department, informed HOSPODARSKE NOVINY yesterday about these measures.

The import ban does not apply to heat-treated milk and dairy products that were subjected to a temperature of at least 72 degrees centigrade for a period of 15 seconds (including ice cream, ice cream mixtures, cheese, and the like, in the production of which use was made of heat-treated raw materials of animal origin). Heat-treated meat products have been exempted from the ban, if the core temperature [teplota v jadre] reached a minimum of 70 degrees centigrade for a period of at least 10 minutes. Also exempted are ripening products [zrajici vyrobky] that have not been heat-treated, provided that a pH value of five or lower was achieved in the core of the product at the time of shipping. The import or transit of these products must be accompanied by a veterinary certificate confirming that the set criteria have been met.

The import ban does not apply, furthermore, to the meat of perissodactyls, rabbits, poultry and poultry products, eggs, fish, small-winged animals, and venison.

Turkish Import Ban Exceeds Impact of EC Ban

AU1904141793 Prague CTK in English 0848 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Prague April 16 (CTK)—Czech newspapers today comment on the situation caused by the European Community (EC) Commission's recent ban on imports of livestock, meat and dairy products from East and Central European countries.

The director of the State Fund of Market Regulation, Antonin Kalina, writes in the daily CESKY DENIK that much worse than the EC ban is that Turkey has also started implementing an embargo on imports of meat from the Czech Republic.

While some 160 tonnes of beef and 350 tonnes of livestock have been exported to EC countries in the first two months of this year, about 2,200 tonnes of meat went to Turkey, Kalina says. Although Turkey has not yet officially declared its decision, some Czech export firms were already informed by their Turkish buyers on Thursday [15 April] that they will not be allowed to enter Turkey with livestock cargo, he adds. [passage omitted]

Compensation for Meat Embargo Losses Wanted

AU1604175593 Prague CTK in English 2116 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 14 (CTK)—The Czech-Moravian Agrarian Union is demanding that the Czech Government and the State Market Regulation Fund compensate farmers for losses incurred as a result of the EC embargo on meat and dairy products.

The union presented this demand in a communique issued at the conclusion of a special members' meeting held today in Vetrny Jenikov, south Moravia.

The participants at the meeting demanded that adequate measures, corresponding to the extent and duration of the embargo, be taken. They expressed their full support for the protective measures announced by the Czech Agriculture Ministry and the State Veterinary Administration.

At the meeting, the results of negotiations between a delegation of farmers and Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus and other government representatives were also reviewed. It approved the actions of the delegation, asked the presidium to call a second round of negotiations with the government by May 7, and discussed solutions and the future course of action.

If the demands outlined in the communique are not met, the Czech-Moravian Agrarian Union plans to name a crisis staff which will decide on adequate means and forms of protests. The meeting also charges regional member organizations with the creation of regional crisis staffs.

Vondra: Arms Export Legislation 'Insufficient'

AU1904135093 Prague CTK in English 2018 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 16 (CTK)—The existing legislation regulating arms exports from the Czech Republic is insufficient and a new law is under preparation, Alexandr Vondra, the Czech deputy foreign minister told CTK today.

However, under the regulation valid since January 1, a licence from the Czech Foreign Ministry is necessary for the arms exports and imports, Vondra added.

CTK was interested in the issue in view of statements by the Czech press that the Czech firm Mercuria exported in late December 1992 and at the beginning of January 1993 several dozens of tonnes of ammunition from Czechoslovakia, and later from the independent Czech Republic, to Mozambique.

The new law, which is being prepared by the Czech Industry and Trade Ministry, is to be adopted by the end of 1993, Vondra said. Until it is passed, the arms and ammunition exports must be regulated by a government decree, which has not yet been approved, however, he added.

Both the decree and the law will be based on the law on power division, which became valid on January 1 and which does not allow any arms and ammunition exports without the Foreign Ministry's licence, Vondra stressed.

In 1992, the arms exports were licensed by the former Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Trade, while the Federal Foreign Ministry only gave its recommendation, Vondra said.

Government To Approve Pro-Export Policy

LD1804152093 Prague CTK in English 1445 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 18 (CTK)—The Czech cabinet will approve a pro-export policy within a few weeks, Czech Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said at a press conference in Brno, south Moravia, today.

He said the embargo imposed by the European Community (EC) on the imports of livestock, meat and dairy products from central and eastern Europe on April 8 was offensive because it copied the political line which had divided Europe before the fall of Communism.

The EC is now taking measures that have nothing in common with the liberalisation of trade, but reflect political pressure in individual countries, Dlouhy said.

He stressed that more than meat was at stake.

Dlouhy said the dramatic decline in trade with Slovakia, which has characterised relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics since the division of Czechoslovakia as of January 1, 1993, had stopped.

The two to three past weeks have witnessed a certain revival in mutual trade, but it is still too soon to evaluate the situation, Dlouhy said.

He pointed out that Slovakia was still the Czech Republic's biggest foreign market and therefore it was interested in favourable economic developments in Slovakia.

Czech, Bavarian Ministers Discuss Cooperation

AU1904133293 Prague CTK in English 2009 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 15 (CTK)—Cooperation between the Czech and Bavarian security forces in fighting organized crime was discussed by Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml and his Bavarian counterpart Edmund Stoiber in Prague today.

The two ministers agreed on cooperation between their ministries' legislative departments, spokesman for the Czech Interior Ministry Jan Subert told journalists.

The Czech Republic and Bavaria are to cooperate, for example, in fighting drugs trafficking, or bands which illegally get persons across the borders.

In the last two years, about half the amount of heroin seized along Germany's borders with other neighbors was found on the Bavarian-Czech border.

The two ministers also agreed on Czech-Bavarian assistance in case of natural disasters, Subert said.

The problem of illegal migration was touched only marginally.

CNB Issues Report on Currency Development

AU1604133193 Prague CTK in English 1553 GMT 13 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 13 (CTK)—The annual inflation rate measured by the index of consumer prices reached 11.5 percent in the former Czechoslovakia in 1992, says a report on the currency development in 1992, published by the Czech National Bank (CNB).

The consumer prices increased from January to September by only 6.4 percent. Only due to some tax adjustments, the expected impact of the new currency system, and Czechoslovakia's division, the consumer prices rose to the final level, the CNB report says.

As compared to 1991, the gross domestic product (GDP) for the whole of 1992 was 7.1 percent lower, but in the second half of 1992 it was already 0.5 percent higher than in the same period of 1991. In the second half of 1992, the increase in real wages resulted in a rising demand of households for consumer goods.

Real wages increased by 7.8 percent and the total population's income by 5 percent over 1991.

The demand for investment, too, was on the rise from July to December 1992. The growth of the aggregate demand was evidently reflected in a rapid increase of the output in the construction sector and in the last three months of 1992 in an increase of the industrial output as well.

The development of the private sector was remarkable as its proportion in the GDP doubled over 1991.

The deficit of the balance of trade totalled 1.6 billion USD in 1992. This was caused by a faster increase of imports over exports, which went up 21.6 percent and 7.3 percent, respectively.

The deficit was offset by a big influx of direct foreign investment and by the favorable balance of the services, so that the total balance of payments ended with a surplus of 225.6 million USD.

The monetary policy in 1992 lost its restrictive character, says the CNB report. The central bank could abolish the last administrative tools of the monetary policy—interest rates and credit ceilings—and push through the monetary policy with only indirect instruments.

Assesses Development in First Quarter

AU1904132893 Prague CTK in English 2039 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 15 (CTK)—Foreign currency reserves of the Czech National Bank (CNB) have increased by 424 million USD since the beginning of the year, CNB Spokesman Martin Svehla told CTK after a session of the CNB Banking Council today.

The council assessed the currency development in the Czech Republic in the first three months of 1993. According to the preliminary data, the gross domestic product (GDP) has been stagnating, Svehla said.

Consumer prices went up 10.6 percent. Direct foreign investment amounted to 250 million USD. The available data reveal a decline in exports in comparison with 1992, and the volume of trade with Slovakia sank to 70 percent of last year's figure, Svehla said.

Credits granted to companies and households grew by 4.3 percent and government debt toward the banking sector dropped by 13 billion crowns (450 million USD). In the first three months of 1993 most commercial banks increased interest rates for their customers by an average of one percent, Svehla said.

Accounts Show Czech-Slovak Trade Stabilizing

AU2004075493 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 14 Apr 93 pp 1, 2

[Petr Wawrosz report: "Favorable Clearing Figures"]

[Text] After the rapid drop in trade between the Czech and Slovak Republics in March, it seems that the situation is gradually stabilizing.

In general, all payments can be divided into the old and the new packages. All claims and obligations dated before 8 February belong to the old package. These obligations are precisely defined and logically may not be exceeded. All payments are made by means of the clearing koruna (XCS), and the exchange rate between the XCS and both the Czech and the Slovak korunas (Kc, Ks) is fixed at 1:1. In March businessmen and Slovak legal persons paid their Czech creditors 3.958 billion korunas within the framework of the old package. A total of 3.189 billion korunas was transferred in the other direction, from Slovakia to the Czech Republic. Hence, there was a surplus of 768 billion korunas in favor of the Slovak Republic in March. The total surplus since the time of the currency division amounts to 252 million korunas in Slovakia's favor. The first major inventory of the old package will be conducted on 15 May. Should there be a surplus on this date, several settlement possibilities exist. The first of these is that the party owing would pay in convertible currency. The second is to transfer the balance to the account used within the framework of the new package. The protocol on the settlement of claims and obligations, however, provides for the possibility that the two states agree on a different manner of settlement.

The claims and obligations dated after the currency division are recorded in the new package. Therefore, the amount is variable. In March, Slovakia paid its obligations to the tune of 166 million ECU, while the Czech Republic paid 184 million ECU to the Slovak Republic. Thus the Czech surplus amounts to 17 million ECU [all figures rounded up], or approximately 623 million Kc. The balance on 13 April showed a 7.225 million ECU—approximately 241 million korunas—surplus in favor of the Czech Republic. This means that trade has stabilized, as the drop after the first month of the clearing system of payments amounted to almost 1.5 billion korunas. The maximum surplus that does not cause any problems was set at 130 million ECU. The only problem that distorts the reliability of the data is that they refer only to the money flow and not to the flow of goods. If goods are exported from the Czech lands to Slovakia or vice versa, and not paid for, these exports will not show up in the clearing accounts. Moreover, most of the payments are made with delays of several days or even weeks, so the actual status is far from being exact.

The clearing accounts must be adjusted by statistics which include all the exports and imports. Even the statistics, however, are not free of problems as the complete figures can be obtained only several days later, and numerous errors militate against the reliability of the statistics. Nevertheless, the two methods of gathering evidence (clearing and statistics) show no great disparity. Thus, it can be assumed that trade is becoming stable and approaching its level prior to the partition of the federation.

Army Cannot Afford To Purchase Missiles

AU1604133493 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 9 Apr 93 p 2

["ivh"-signed report: "The Army Has No Means of Paying"]

[Text] Adamov—"It is possible that at the company's next board meeting on 14 April we will recommend ceasing the production of Konkurs anti-tank missiles for financial reasons," Adast Adamov Director General Jan Dosek said to LIDOVE NOVINY yesterday. The complete mechanical parts for the missiles are produced in Adamov and then filled with the explosives in Dubnica and Vahom. Last year the—at that time federal—Army submitted a preliminary order for 900 Konkurs missiles; of course, following a government decree and the granting of state funds, it in fact purchased only some of them—for 150 million korunas. So, because the second part of the order did not go ahead, the company suffered a loss of around 156 million korunas, which is—de facto—owed to it by the final producer in Slovakia.

According to Dosek, Adast representatives have held talks with Defense Minister Baudys, who has shown interest in the Konkurs missiles, but the Army has no means of paying for them in view of the tight budget. A few days ago the director general also visited the Slovak Defense Ministry, which—of course—is in an even worse situation than its Czech counterpart. "The soldiers need the missiles, but they have nothing with which to pay for them." The only help Adast has obtained is from the Finance Ministry. "It has made it possible for us to postpone last year's tax payments amounting to some 80 million korunas," said Dosek.

The missiles' purchase by the Czech Army by means of a bill of exchange payable in 2-3 years—on the basis of which Adast could then obtain credit—would be a positive solution. The company has held preliminary talks with the Konsolidacni banka [Consolidation Bank] and the Komercni banka [Commercial Bank] on this prospect. Another option—selling at least some of the 900 Konkurs missiles abroad—fell through owing to a lack of interest by partners in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, where the first trials took place; however, no contracts were signed.

Within the framework of coupon privatization, 32 funds and 11,000 coupon investment holders acquired shares in Adast Adamov, while six funds—mainly banking funds—hold a significant proportion of these shares. The company's board was restructured at an extraordinary general assembly. Jan Dosek said that the text of the so-called golden share—according to which the company could not (in view of special production for army purposes) alter either the structure or capacity of production—was also changed. According to the text's new wording, the company is obliged to discuss production changes with the Defense Ministry, but the Army has no right of veto.

No 'Serious' Breakdowns at Nuclear Facilities

AU1904141593 Prague CTK in English 1138 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 15 (CTK)—There were no serious breakdowns at nuclear facilities in the Czech Republic last year, said director of the State Institute for Nuclear Security (SUJB) Jan Stuller at a press conference here today.

Stuller said that four blocks at the Dukovany nuclear power plant in South Moravia were in operation last year and that construction of the Temelin plant in South Bohemia was continuing.

In 1992, inspectors from the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission participated in discussions with the Dukovany commission to investigate 115 breakdowns. Only four of these were given a first degree rating according to the International Atomic Energy Agency rating system, which means they had slight safety significance. The rest had no influence on safety and were given a zero rating. None of these breakdowns had a serious impact on nuclear safety, Stuller said.

Republic Transit Point for Drug Organizations

LD1604134093 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2005 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Item processed from rebroadcast on Bratislava STV 2 Television Network in Slovak at 1440 GMT on 15 April]

[Summary] [Unidentified correspondent] The former Federal Government failed to produce new legislation governing drug dependency. The Czech Parliament Defense and Security Committee visited the Drug Enforcement Squad of the Czech police today [14 April]. There are around 20,000 regular drug users in the Czech Republic. Last year alone, Czech customs and police seized drugs worth approximately six million korunas. Twenty people lost their lives as a result of drugs use. Following the dismantling of the Iron Curtain, the Czech Republic has become a transit country, where deals are clinched and where bosses discuss specific deliveries using the names of various firms for their actions. There is a lively trade, not only with the East, but also with South American countries.

On the whole, thanks to our legislation and our geographical position, we are a handy and safe state, where for a [German] mark or a buck, we are only too glad to take the risk. In addition, Yugoslav, Russian, Ukrainian, Turkish, and Arab gangs have seemingly taken up permanent residence in the Czech Republic. Having concluded mutual agreements, these gangs demarcated their operations areas. Nobody knows for sure how many drugs were smuggled across our territory. The volume of the heroin transported via the infamous Balkan route over the last three years has exceeded experts' expectations.

So, what we are lacking is legislation, legislation that would put off those wanting to make easy profits. No drug war between clans has materialized yet. The contemplated legalization of drugs has not materialized either. But as some experts claim, we are only beginning to look the problem in the eye. The newly set up interministerial drug enforcement commission is due to submit to the Government by the end of April this year a blueprint of government drug enforcement policy.

Prague Differs From Rest of Country

AU1904130793 Prague CTK in English 0934 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 15 (CTK)— Surveys show Prague to have the highest abortion rate and the lowest birth rate in the Czech Republic, Jan Tuhacek, director of the Prague department of the Czech Statistics Office told journalists Wednesday [14 April].

In Prague, twelve abortions are carried out for every ten deliveries, Tuhacek said.

Prague also tops the list for divorce, with one divorce occurring for every two unbroken marriages. It has the highest average age, and the highest prices, with inflation reaching 271 percent between January 1989 and December 1992, Tuhacek stated.

Retail prices in Prague have registered the sharpest rise, notably in catering. Inflation reached 13 percent in Prague in 1992, compared with the average of 11.1 percent for the Czech Republic, Tuhacek said.

At 0.3 percent, the rate of unemployment is lower in Prague than the overall figure of 2.5 percent, compared with four percent for northern Bohemia, Tuhacek announced.

The present population density figure for Prague is 2,447 people per one square kilometer. Back in 1869, when similar data was published for the first time, Prague's population density stood at 20,000 people per one square kilometer, Tuhacek said. (The drop in figures is accounted for by the city's marked growth in size - ed.)

A total of 1.2 million people live in Prague now, compared with 150,000 people in 1869 (over a much smaller area than today - ed.).

Kovac Proposes New Law on Officials' Salaries

AU1604145993 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 10 Apr 93 p 1

[TA SR report: "Shall We Save Millions?"]

[Text] Bratislava— The basic salary should be 2.7 times the average salary, rather than three times the average salary, and the lump sum allowance should be reduced to 50-60 percent [of the approved level]. This is stated in Slovak President Michal Kovac's proposal to amend the Law on the Salaries of Some Constitutional Officials of the Slovak Republic, which was passed on 25 March 1993.

The proposal further states that while the salaries of the president, judges on the Constitutional Court, and the Supreme Control Office chairman should be tackled immediately, with regard to the salaries of parliamentary deputies, members of the government, and other judges, the law should come into force on 1 July 1993. According to the president's proposal, salaries should be paid for three more months after the termination of the electoral term.

Compared with the original law, the president's proposal would help save 8 million korunas annually. Specifically, the monthly bill would be reduced by 565,000 Slovak korunas [Ks] in the National Council of the Slovak Republic, Ks84,000 in the government, Ks25,000 in the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic, Ks8,000 with regard to the president, and Ks1,000 with regard to the Supreme Control Office chairman.

Meciar Interviewed on Bankruptcy Law, Economy

LD1704092493 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Regular interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Jarmila Tosecka; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Tosecka] Prime Minister, at its session on 14 April, the government approved the draft amendment to the bankruptcy law. This originally federal law had been postponed several times. The amendment gives a chance to companies to somehow get their act together. Do you actually believe in a possible recovery? The most frightening thing is that large industrial giants are falling to their knees.

[Meciar] Of course, we must take into account that the recession is not only here in our country but in the whole world—the recession in the metallurgic industry, in the steel industry, in engineering, everywhere. And if, understandably, we want to solve our difficulties by export, we encounter protectionist measures. We are selling cheap labor and are then accused of using dumping prices and doors are closed to us only to protect the jobs of their own people. If somebody keeps asking whether it is proper for the state to interfere in these processes, then his is a destructive liberalism. The state intervenes everywhere. The EC is giving us a practical demonstration. They are protecting their markets from outside imports. First it is steel, next time food products or the movement of labor. The state does all those things. So why point to us? We continue to criticize Meciar when he says that it needs to be done here too. We cannot pretend that this republic does not belong to anybody. Government bodies and the parliament are responsible for everything that is being done here. That is why neither the liberalism nor the capitalism of the 19th century can be a starting point. [passage omitted]

Since you mentioned—and I am returning to the previous question—bankruptcy, then to make this a remedy the government asked for a two-month respite to prepare a new amendment that could exclude two extremes. The first is the triggering of a domino effect. This means that by disrupting one, you disrupt all, including banks, and the whole system comes tumbling down. We want to avoid that. And the second thing we want to avoid—in view of the impasse in the courts today—is the processing of bankruptcy proposals four to six years after they are submitted. So we are looking for a way between these two extremes.

[Tosecka] If we could go back to some starting point, which might be the beginning of 1990, if at that time, we, Slovakia, had the same opportunities and powers that we have today, do you think we could have taken some easier way of economic reform?

[Meciar] [passage omitted] A different development was possible in 1990 and 1991. Today we are abandoning the so-called monetarists and are turning to gradualists. This means we are turning to gradual doses of individual changes so the level of the koruna's stability and inflationary movements, and social relations, are balanced. [sentence as heard] In a way, this is a unique operation that has not been tried by anyone in the eastern countries. We have the courage to try it; we have the courage to embark on this path, but for this we need two conditions, which I keep stressing all the time: social and political peace. If these conditions do not exist, then any report about government's instability, any report about possible social clashes, automatically leads to the movement of money from outside to Slovakia being halted. [passage omitted] We ourselves, by giving information about ourselves, are creating a state of uncertainty in the eyes of others. Therefore, we must weigh how we help things. Even a word can sometimes cause damage.

[Tosecka] The latest results of public opinion research show the trust that President Michal Kovac enjoys. How do you, Mr. Prime Minister, from the point of view of your post, assess the latest activities of President Kovac? I have in mind yesterday's meeting with the economic ministers, financiers, and bankers. How do you assess the proposals that arose from this meeting?

[Meciar] It is completely unusual for the prime minister to appraise the president. But as for theoretical questions, on certain points we agree, on certain points we differ. That is not essential. But if the president's popularity is growing it means that we have made a good selection from the ranks of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and we have foreseen the situation correctly.

Government, HZDS Deputies Hold Meeting

LD1804132193 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] The two-day meeting of members of the Slovak Government and all the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] deputies ended in Casta Papiernicka near Bratislava today. Our colleague from CT1 [Czech television] Alexandr Picha reports:

[Picha] Representatives of Meciar's movement mainly discussed the strategy of the movement after the departure of a group of deputies from the HZDS club. The Slovak Government then had several separate sessions. In a statement made to CT1 and Czech radio, Prime Minister Meciar confirmed after the meeting that he did not expect the framework agreement on the division of federal assets to be signed on 23 April either. The work on the division of the Czechoslovak State Bank [Statni banka ceskoslovenska] has slowed down according to him, so it will not be possible to observe the timetable approved recently by Ministers of Finance Ivan Kocarnik and Julius Toth. Some members of the Slovak Government have also hinted that this may mean a postponement of the planned meeting of the property commission.

As for the economic strategy of the Slovak Government, Vladimir Meciar said that the decision to print [tisknout] new Slovak money for the extension of credit to some companies is not irrational because there is great hunger for money in Slovakia. Nevertheless, in answer to my question, Prime Minister Meciar denied that a new issue of Slovak korunas, over the already announced 8 billion, is being prepared for the near future. He stressed that steps will be taken to strengthen financial discipline since there is a circulation of goods in Slovakia but not a circulation of money. But the Slovak Government is not considering a devaluation of the Slovak koruna and, according to Meciar, it is happy with the balance of foreign currency reserves.

Kovac 'Sorry' for Expulsion of Sudeten Germans

AU1704132793 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Apr 93 p 3

[Report on interview with President Michal Kovac by Berthold Kohler in Bratislava; date not given: "Kovac: We Can, But We Do Not Have To Compete With the Czechs"]

[Text] Threatening mass unemployment, a dwindling purchasing power, and dramatically shrinking foreign currency reserves—this is not exactly what many Slovaks envisaged national independence to look like. Although hardly anyone thought that the dissolution of the single state with the Czechs would not effect economically weaker Slovakia. The unending series of bad economic news has created palpable insecurity among people in Bratislava. Has Slovakia, which initiated the process of division, underestimated the risks of independence? President Kovac says no.

In the view of the 62-year-old economic expert, Slovakia is currently not going through a more difficult stage than Poland, Hungary, or Ukraine. So far nobody has become homeless or has to starve or freeze. Some "so-called unemployed" are even better off than those who have jobs because they are doing illegal work abroad. Nevertheless, Kovac admits that the dissolution of Czechoslovakia has made economic relations between the two successor republics "more complicated." In the first months after the separation, mutual trade fell almost by half despite the fact that customs union was maintained. Yet the Slovak president is optimistic that trade relations can be renewed. In the future, Slovakia wants to establish itself more firmly in the Western European and U.S. markets. Here, one does not necessarily have to but might have to compete with the Czech Republic, the president said.

Kovac commented with diplomatic caution on the relationship between the two republics, which recently cooled off considerably because of the controversy over Slovak debts resulting from the division of federal assets. Prague's "freezing" of shares that Slovakia acquired in the course of privatization was described by the president as an "attempt to improve the position for the negotiations" and not as a "blackmail attempt," as Prime Minister Meciar had called it. However, the Slovak head of state warned against negligent behavior in mutual relations. Pending questions regarding dividing up assets might severely strain future relations. It is, therefore, important for both sides to seek agreement as quickly as possible.

Kovac resolutely rejected the thesis—which is also supported by Czech politicians—that Slovakia will move politically and ideologically further and further to the East, while the Czech Republic is seeking direct connections with the West. As a transit country, the Slovak Republic would like to serve as a bridge and base for Western investors to the markets in Ukraine and Russia. One must not forget that oil, gas, iron ore, and other raw materials that are important for Slovakia are imported from Russia. "At the same time, we have often emphasized that we want to be integrated into the economic and security-political structures of Europe as soon as possible," the president said. Moreover, one would like to see not only Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary in the European security structure but all countries of Eastern Europe.

In the assessment of the Visegrad alliance of four, Kovac did not see any major differences between Prague and Bratislava. Czech President Havel and Prime Minister Klaus, the latter having a reputation of being a Visegrad skeptic, emphasized Prague's interest in "true economic cooperation" between Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, Kovac said. Prague is "apparently not interested in meetings but in trade, which constitutes a big difference." The relationship between Bratislava and Budapest is strained mainly by the controversy over the Gabcikovo power plant on the Danube River. However, it has to be seen as a positive sign that one has now agreed to take the cause to the International Court of Justice.

The political stability of the current Slovak Government under Prime Minister Meciar is assessed by the president as surprisingly optimistic. Meciar, who can currently only count on 66 safe votes of the 150 deputies in the Parliament, is in an even better position than Klaus, who has to deal with three "very difficult" coalition partners, while Meciar is still able to rule without a coalition partner. The recent talks between the government party, HZDS, and the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) showed that the SDL deputies will support a whole series of laws. The building of a formal coalition government is possible, but not necessary at the moment. The president stated that in Slovakia, the question of stability is "not so extraordinarily complicated as in the Czech Republic, Russia, or Poland."

The president rejects the criticisms that he is unable to play an independent political role at the side of the strong Prime Minister Meciar. Agreement between the two of them must not automatically be seen as influence by the head of government on the head of state—"because it could also be the other way round." It is a matter of course to seek harmony between the president and the government in a democratic state.

The president will try actively to tackle one of the most sensitive problems of domestic policy in Slovakia, the treatment of the strong Hungarian minority. For this purpose he will convene roundtable talks involving all the ethnic minorities. First of all, all the difficulties that exist between the Slovak majority and the Hungarian minority (of about 600,000) will be listed. Subsequently, they will attempt to solve the problems on the basis of a new minority law. New studies will also be made with the intention of establishing whether or not the Slovak Constitution is in line with minimum European standards regarding the protection of minorities.

The president admitted that in the controversy over the use of two languages on place-name signs and offices, "minor problems and mistakes" had occurred, which, however, the current government will solve. Yet, difficulties were being created the other way round, too. For example, the citizens of the city of Surany in southern Slovakia petitioned for measures against "Hungarization pressure." Kovac announced that the state would grant the citizens more powers in self-administration, irrespective of whether this refers to Hungarians, Germans, or Slovaks. Kovac emphasized the good cooperation between the Carpathian Germans and the Slovak state.

Regrets About Expulsion

The Slovak president expressed his regret about the expulsion of many Germans from Slovakia after World War II. "There can be no doubt that many mistakes were made in solving these issues, mistakes that cannot be made good today. We are sorry that such mistakes were made," Kovac said. After the fall of the communist regime, the political forces in Slovakia agreed that amends had, first of all, to be made for the misdeeds of the totalitarian system. The restitution law and the law on rehabilitation outside the courts were taking into account the injustices that were committed in 1948 and thereafter. However, they were not going back further than 1948.

Kovac emphasized that the independent Slovak Republic is no successor to the first Slovak nation state, which was proclaimed in 1939 after the Germans had occupied Bohemia and Moravia. One is aware that that Slovak state came into being of Hitler's will. At the same time, it is also known that the foundation of this state meant the Slovakia's salvation because otherwise it would have been occupied and divided up by three other countries.

According to Kovac, the first Slovak president, Tiso, was a "controversial personality." On the one hand, Tiso tried to defend the interests of the citizens of Slovakia. On the other hand, he also made grave mistakes, for example regarding the deportation of the Jews and the suppression of the Slovak national uprising. "Yet we can also see that it was thanks to Tiso that many hundreds of Jewish families were saved." Besides, the communists were not relentlessly persecuted under Tiso, Kovac concluded.

Minister Discusses Government Media Policy

AU1904163693

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 13 April on page 9 carries a 2,800-word interview with Culture Minister Dusan Slobodnik by Marcela Kostalova entitled "The Government Does Not Have Freedom of Press." The undated interview, which was conducted in the NARODNA OBRODA editorial office in Bratislava, deals with the Slovak Government's relations with the media.

Slobodnik, who is responsible for media policy in the Slovak Government, first outlines his ideas about his ministry's role with that of the media. He says that "the Ministry of Culture can only act as the coordinator of media policy and definitely not as some kind of direct media 'regulator' because, as you know very well, the press in Slovakia is independent and our ministry has never tried to influence it or prescribe what and how journalists should write." Slobodnik acknowledges the right of journalists to criticize the government but, at the same time, he urges them "to do so without bias and respect the facts. Believe me, we do not ask more than that of you! When I recently paid a visit to the United

States, Mr. Johnson, assistant secretary of state for Europe, asked me about the observance of freedom of the press in Slovakia. I told him that if there is anyone who does not have this freedom, it is the government. If someone attacks me, so far there is no newspaper that would surely publish my reply the next day. In other words, it is me who must literally 'seek' the media's favor."

The interviewer wonders whether the new daily REPUBLIKA will not provide scope for government members to "defend themselves." The passage reads: "[Kostalova] The TA SR has been publishing the daily REPUBLIKA since 1 April. Rumor has it that REPUBLIKA is to be a government daily. Can you not defend yourself there, for example?

"[Slobodnik] What kind of a government paper? I beg you, where would the government take the money for that? Let alone the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]? The TA SR simply decided to follow this path and, as far as I know, because the Ministry of Culture did not assist in the founding of REPUBLIKA in any way, the daily will be working with the same information that the TA SR supplies to other media. If you found out that this was not the case, then it would be your duty to make yourself heard and certain consequences might be drawn from it. I think, however, that the focus will be on analyses or commentaries and the government will be given space in them, the very space that other media provide to it only very unwillingly. But that is all! Should REPUBLIKA reflect only the views of the government or of the HZDS, then its circulation would obviously quickly drop below the tolerable limit and it would be finished.

"[Kostalova] But the funds with which REPUBLIKA was established come from the state treasury, which subsidizes the activity of the TA SR. In other words, they come from our, the taxpayers' money. Not all taxpayers may agree with REPUBLIKA's orientation.

"[Slobodnik] I may be exaggerating a bit, but let me ask you frankly. Do we not subsidize, for example, the paper industry, the production of which is used also by newspapers that are not favorably disposed toward us? Did we perhaps undertake anything against this? Or did we stop subsidizing the press of the ethnic minorities, even though we know very well that views abound in it that are directed against the policy of the present government? And what about television? It is also being financed by people who may not like [Slovak comedian] Markovic's programs, for example, and who consider them offensive. Incidentally, the production of one of his programs supposedly costs 800,000 korunas."

Speaking about the relationship between the government and the media, Slobodnik deplores that Slovak journalists do not speak out more forcefully against what he describes as the "false accusations of Slovakia" appearing in foreign media. He refers to the example of Czech journalists who, even if they disagree on everything else, are "absolutely united" when it comes to the defense of the Czech cause. Slobodnik asks: "Why do you not display similar cohesion? I do not mean cohesion in the sense of false attacks but cohesion in the sense of the 'mere' defense of the actual truth about Slovakia, which is evidently different than is being portrayed." He continues: "As it is the duty of every decent human being to defend the one who is weaker, I appeal to all Slovak journalists to defend Slovakia. Not against the Czech Republic but against the overwhelming attacks that are rolling against us from abroad. I stress again: You do not have to accept the government in its entirety. Be critical when there are specific facts [warranting criticism], but do raise your voice when you see that someone is damaging the interests of Slovakia. We should really abide by the Boy Scouts' slogan: Let us stick together in adversity."

Asked whether the negative articles about Slovakia appearing abroad may not result from the government's poor relations with foreign journalists "who, if they do not gain access to government members, find their informants elsewhere," Slobodnik says: "My experience is such that 95 out of 100 foreign journalists who come to see me are a priori biased against the government and, whatever I tell them, they distort in their material. The information I give them simply does not fit into the image of Slovakia with which they had arrived." Even more important than improving foreign journalists' access to the government, Slobodnik says, is therefore to achieve the accreditation of foreign correspondents in Slovakia "so that their primary information does not come from Prague, through Czech media, for example, but from here." Slobodnik cites the example of Karl Peter Schwarz, the correspondent of the Austrian daily DIE PRESSE, who is accredited in Bratislava and whose criticism Slobodnik accepts because "he knows the facts."

In the interview, the minister of culture also mentions that unspecified financial measures in support of "leading nationwide dailies" are being planned. He notes that this support will be "selective" and restricted to the large dailies, which he expects to meet with a "storm of protest" among the smaller newspapers.

Government Introduces Measures on Tax Evasion

AU2004081893 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 15 Apr 93 pp 1, 2

[Michal Stefanek report: "Against Tax Evasion"]

[Excerpts] Draft measures aimed at preventing tax and customs evasion within state enterprises and private businesses, and draft measures on further proceeding in the sphere of agriculture were among the most important issues at the Slovak Government's session yesterday.

At a news conference that followed the session, Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth spoke about the measures adopted by the government to prevent tax and customs evasion. They are necessary because, despite an economic performance comparable to that of last year, state budget revenue sharply declined in the most recent period. Therefore, stricter controls will be introduced to detect tax evasion. Businessmen will have to realize that if they do not meet their tax obligations, the appropriate tax office can have their licenses withdrawn. In its controlling function, the state will also be much more actively involved in providing subsidies to individual businesses. According to Minister Toth, the managements of state enterprises that do not meet their tax obligations may expect very severe punishment. [passage omitted]

At yesterday's session, the government also approved a National Council of the Slovak Republic bill that modifies and supplements Law 328/1991 on Bankruptcy and Settlement. Furthermore, it approved a National Council of the Slovak Republic bill on radio and television broadcasting. It also discussed and approved the National Council of the Slovak Republic deputies' proposal on passing the National Council of the Slovak Republic bill that amends the wording of the Slovak National Council Law 401/1990 on the city of Kosice. This proposal is to increase the number of mayor's deputies and their powers, which are to be defined in the new statute. The government also approved the draft agreement between the Slovak Government and the Government of Romania on mutual trade and payments.

Moravcik Comments on Knazko, Arms Deal

AU2004103093 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Apr 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "The Ministry Did Have Authority To Negotiate; Jozef Moravcik on Milan Knazko's Trade Negotiations"]

[Text] Bratislava— Slovak Minister of Foreign Affairs and former CSFR Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Moravcik knew about the trade negotiations conducted by Milan Knazko, his predecessor as chief of the Slovak diplomatic service, concerning arms exports. He confirmed this in an interview for Saturday's [10 April] Radio Journal program on Slovak Radio, which concerned the reasons for Milan Knazko's dismissal. According to Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, one of the reasons for Knazko's dismissal was that the ex-minister started to meddle in the arms trade, which did not come under the jurisdiction of the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Jozef Moravcik said that such deliveries were nothing extraordinary but that they had to be carefully considered at all times. He believes that, in this specific case, not all arguments against the deal were taken into account sufficiently, especially regarding the overall situation in southern and southeastern Asia. From this viewpoint it would be possible to analyze, according to Moravcik, whether everything was done that had to be done to protect our foreign political interests. "As a matter of principle, one cannot object to the very fact of such deals," Jozef Moravcik said. Asked whether Milan Knazko had the authority to negotiate such deals, Jozef Moravcik replied that the ministry had the authority but that what matters is how this authority was executed.

Social Democrats Support Trade Unions

AU1604175693 Prague CTK in English 2039 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 14 (CTK) - The Slovak Social Democratic Party (SDSS) does not consider a meeting called by trade unions for Friday to protest against the government's economic policy an anti-governmental move, SDSS Deputy Chairman Jaroslav Volf told journalists today.

He said his party supported unions and demanded that the government adopt a serious attitude to unions and by producing a clear and comprehensive program guarantee the preservation of social peace in the country.

Jozef Krumpolec, chairman of the KOVO trade union of metal industry workers, said the basic flaw of the government's policy was that it was actually continuing the implementation of the economic reform begun by Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus which is characterized by tough restrictive measures. He said a restrictive policy was effective only if accompanied by measures designed to boost the economy.

Krumpolec criticized the government for insufficiently coordinating the economic policy. He said that if attention is not paid to the problem, we are approaching a catastrophe in Slovakia.

The trade unions demand that the government announce effective measures to improve the situation, Krumpolec said. He did not, however, specify what unions' further steps would be in case of the Friday meeting's failure. But he said to initiate strikes would cause a collapse of the economic structures which in turn would result in the break-up of the unions themselves.

Trade Unionists Protest Against Government

AU1904140093 Prague CTK in English 1921 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 16 (CTK)—Some 5,000 tradeunionists gathered in Bratislava this afternoon to express their disagreement with the Slovak Government's economic and social policy.

The unionists understand that the government is in a difficult situation, but they cannot put up with its lack of activity and the resulting economic and social decline, said the Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions (KOS SR) Assembly Chairman Alojz Englis.

The protesters demanded the observation of the Slovak Government's July 1992 programme declaration, a halt of the decline in the Slovak economy, and a wage policy which would secure a comfortable standard of living.

The protest meeting was also attended by representatives of miners from Ostrava, the center of a major coal-mining area in the Czech Republic. Their participation expresses the solidarity of the unionists, the chairman of the Moravian-Silesian Association of Mining, Geology and Oil Industries, Petr Hrib, told CTK.

Slovak miners also supported us during our protest in autumn 1992 in Prague. So it is natural for us to be here, Hrib added.

If the aim of today's meeting is not achieved, the KOS SR is ready to extend its protest actions to regions and districts.

But in the interest of its 1.7 million members, union will [not] disclose its future moves for the time being, KOS SR Spokeswoman Hana Benicka said.

NBS Official Discloses Bank, State Assets

LD1604230993 Prague CTK in English 2111 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 16 (CTK)—Slovakia has reached an active balance of 27,645,000 ECU toward the Czech Republic, said Slovak National Bank (NBS) Vice-Governor Marian Tkac at a press conference here today.

The second package of mutual claims, which is accountable in uniform ratio to the ECU, has led to an anticipated drop in the active balance, which totalled 85,816 million Slovak crowns as of April 15, Tkac said. The decrease of the balance could be the result of measures taken by the Czech National Bank and the Slovak National Bank in relation to the rate of exchange of their currencies against the ECU. This difference currently amounts to seven per cent. Under the payments agreement, the Slovak side wants to accept measures to alter the exchange rate against the ECU, because, Tkac said, as of April 15 Slovakia is extending credit to the Czech Republic.

The balance of the Slovak National Bank, which was disclosed today, amounted to 125,206 million Slovak crowns for both assets and liabilities as of March 31, against 117,875 million crowns as of January 1. The total hard currency assets of the Slovak Republic amount to almost 1.3 million USD, but he noted that the NBS's assets amount to only 240 million USD.

When asked whether Czech claims (about 24.7 billion crowns) from the division of the former Czechoslovak State Bank are included in the balance of the Slovak National Bank, NBS Vice-Governor Marian Jusko said that it was an unconcluded item which will be added into the NBS balance retroactively after the property division.

Parliament Approves Defense Principles

LD1404225993 Budapest MTI in English 1955 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Budapest, April 14 (MTI)—In a unanimous vote, the Hungarian Parliament approved the country's defence principles on Wednesday. Based on a consensus of the six parliamentary parties, the principles were accepted by all 213 deputies present.

Defence Minister Lajos Fur said the decision marked the beginning of a new national military policy.

The principles declare that Hungary's defence policy has a non-aggressive nature. It follows that Hungary does not view any country as its enemy. The country takes the just security interests of its neighbours into account, and holds the position that military force is not the only means by which to guarantee the security and unhindered development of states.

The government will have to present to parliament a report on the situation of the armed forces at least once a year.

Addressing parliament before the vote, Fur said the efficiency of the armed forces should be preserved and the current Army is not at all oversized. He added that, in keeping with the European practice, the proportion of professional soldiers, now 22 per cent, should be doubled. At the same time, Fur rejected the idea of an exclusively professional Army. In 1992, he said, only 11 per cent of the military budget could be earmarked for development, which was insufficient even in creating better living conditions in the barracks.

FYD Congress Discusses Political Declaration

LD1704195293 Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Budapest, April 17 (MTI)—Delegates to the 5th Congress of the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) on Saturday discussed the party's political programme declaration. The congress was also welcomed by several foreign guests.

In elaboration of a written report, MP Zoltan Rockenbauer said that the programme declaration aims to consolidate the constitutional order, guarantee human rights and freedoms, pave the way for economic growth, accelerate privatization, encourage austerity in using public funds and curb increases in budget deficits.

On potential coalition partners, Gabor Fodor, chairman of parliament's Human Rights Committee, thought that cooperation with the Alliance of Free Democrats [AFD] was vital, but he also saw a need for dialogue with other parties.

MP Tamas Deutsch, FYD's former campaign chief, said the new programme declaration ensures the party's political openness, but coalition links should only be decided with knowledge of the 1994 election results and the then condition of the country.

Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Istvan Hegedus proposed the party should establish closer regional links with the neighbouring countries, this being the sole alternative to nationalism. In home policy, he saw cooperation with the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) possible when it gets rid of Csurka, and with the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) if it abandons social demagogy.

Among foreign guests greeting the congress on Saturday was Wolfgang Gerhardt, vice-president of Germany's Free Democratic Party (FDP), who said that the increasing weight of the FYD served the interests of Hungary, Germany and Europe alike.

Smeranda Enache, leading member of the Romanian Party of Civic Alliance and president of the Pro Europe League, said in his speech given in Hungarian that historic Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation was a key issue for Central Europe. He believed the FYD would be a partner to efforts made in this direction.

Charles Kennedy, president of the British Liberal Democratic Party, supported the programme declaration of the FYD.

Radio Reports Prolonged Walesa, Gore Talks

LD1904141493 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1300 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Monika Olejnik has just returned from a meeting of Lech Walesa and Albert Gore and she joins me in the studio.

[Olejnik] The meeting lasted an hour longer than scheduled, one and a half hours instead of a planned half hour. After the meeting the U.S. vice president said Poland has been the most democratic of all European countries and could pave the way for other countries. Poland is also the country where the market economy has been introduced with greatest speed. During the meeting, the situation in Russia was also discussed. Lech Walesa said after the meeting:

[Begin recording] [Walesa] As I said, there are two directions and I have opted for the second one, that is to help Russia through Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, and Belarus.

[Gore in English] We had a very interesting discussion about President Walesa's idea. I told him that this morning I had talks with some American business leaders, who have already established their headquarters for central and eastern European activity here in Poland. And the reason is clear. [end recording]

[Olejnik] The two gentlemen said they will return to their talks tomorrow.

Isreali Prime Minister Received by Suchocka

LD1904145493 Warsaw PAP in English 1408 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 19—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka on Monday received at luncheon Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin and his wife.

Recalling the centuries long Polish-Jewish coexistence in Poland, Ms. Suchocka noted that in recent years Polish-Israeli relations "acquired new dimensions and became a permanent element of the new Polish reality."

Israeli prime minister stressed that it was only after the dawnfall of communism that the two countries resumed diplomatic relations. He declared Israel's readiness for cooperation with Poland in all fields.

Rabin praised Poland's efforts in the fight against intolerance and antisemitism.

Urges Further Development of Relations

LD1904144793 Warsaw PAP in English 1358 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 19—We cannot forget about our past, but we must think about a better world. We are interested in further development of our mutual relations, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin said on Monday, following a plenary meeting with Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka.

Rabin also announced that he had invited Ms. Suchocka to make an official visit to Israel.

Ms. Suchocka noted that bilateral contacts had greatly developed over the past three years, particularly in the economic sphere. She said that there had been discussion of developing cultural contacts, and also youth and teacher exchange programmes.

This is the first-ever visit to Poland by an Israeli prime minister, although the presidents of both countries have exchanged visits in recent years. Yitzhaq Rabin is heading the 120-strong official Israeli delegation to the ghetto uprising commemorations.

Says Arabs Hindering Peace Process

TA0101120580 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1130 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Speaking in Warsaw a short while ago, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin said: It has now been proven who wants peace and who is hindering it. I hope that the delay caused by the Arabs is only temporary because both the Arab and Israeli sides need peace.

[Begin Rabin recording] I prefer to wait until the Arab side reaches its decision. It has been proven today without a doubt who desires peace and who is holding it up. I hope that this will only be a temporary delay because I believe that peace is a necessity for both the Arab and Israeli sides. [end recording]

The prime minister was speaking to correspondents after his meeting with the Polish prime minister. Rabin told the correspondents that during their meeting, the two had discussed expanding economic and cultural relations between Israel and Poland. Rabin will meet with Polish President Lech Walesa and with U.S. Vice President Gore this evening at a ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising.

Meets With Minister Skubiszewski

LD1904173193 Warsaw PAP in English 1525 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] WArsaw, April 19—Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin on Monday afternoon met with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The meeting was closed to the press.

After the meeting Skubiszewski said he was glad to have an opportunity to meet Israeli prime minister for the first time on the Polish soil.

Minister Lewandowski Views Privatization Plans

PM1904105093 Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 5 Apr 93 p 5

[Interview with Janusz Lewandowski, minister for ownership transformations, by correspondent Karol Rzemieniecki; place, date not given]

[Text] [Rzemieniecki] The universal privatization program, which was recently amended on the Sejm's recommendation, has opponents as well as proponents. There is no shortage of criticism directed against the whole privatization campaign. For example, it has been suggested that privatization is tantamount to a "sellout" of national assets—to be carried out cheaply and, possibly, with the assets going into foreign hands. How much truth is there in such rumors?

[Lewandowski] There is no truth in them at all. As you know, the program prepared by the Ownership Transformations Ministry provides for extending the universal privatization scheme to 600 industrial enterprises which will thus be transformed into corporations. A proportion of the shares issued by these companies (up to 15 percent) will be distributed free of charge among their own employees. Another part will remain the property of the State Treasury. However, the major proportion of their shares will be deposited with national investment funds. From the legal viewpoint, these funds will also operate as joint-stock companies. Each of them will handle up to 30 companies within the universal privatization scheme. The shares issued by the funds will then be offered for purchase by all the adult citizens of the Polish Republic. It will be sufficient to own a "share bond," which will then be available for purchase at a price not exceeding 5 percent of the average monthly wage in Poland.

Thus, only Polish citizens will be the primary owners and shareholders of the funds which will handle the 600 enterprises within the privatization scheme.

[Rzemieniecki] But this will only apply to the funds...

[Lewandowski] No, because by virtue of owning their shares, the shareholders of these funds—and such institutions have, after all, operated in various forms throughout the world for many years now, especially in the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Scandinavia, and many other developed countries—will automatically be owners of the 600 enterprises within the privatization scheme.

According to our commercial laws, every national investment fund will have a board and a supervisory council. It is true that membership of the latter will be open to foreign specialists, but their positions will be those of salaried experts. They will not be able to buy shares in the funds within the universal privatization program. Membership of the national investment fund boards will be open only to Poles. On the other hand, the day-to-day management of the 30 or so companies which will be run by each individual fund will be in the hands of contracted management firms. These will be Polish, foreign, or—probably most often—mixed consortia, to whom no national investment fund shares will be offered for purchase, either. They will be remunerated for their services according to the terms of their contracts. These will be determined in agreements with the individual funds' supervisory councils. Can any of this be called "selling our assets into foreign hands?"

In addition, please note that the word "sellout" indicates that a commodity is sold at a low price—sometimes very much below its value. In our case, however, when we take into account the whole future trading turnover of the privatized companies' shares on the secondary capital market, the stock market (naturally, at market prices, which also reflect the companies' anticipated and actual economic results), there can be no talk of any "sellout."

[Rzemieniecki] Does this mean that foreign capital will have no access to this scheme at all?

[Lewandowski] It probably will eventually gain access to it, but this will only be on the secondary capital market. The shares issued by the national investment funds and the joint ventures located with them will be offered for sale, but not by the government—by individual citizens. It will be Polish citizens who will ultimately decide whether they want to sell their shares and to whom they want to sell them. That is, provided that they do decide to sell them. I believe that very many of them will keep them for themselves, their children, and their grandchildren.

[Rzemieniecki] Why are both the ministry and the government in such a hurry with the privatization scheme?

[Lewandowski] Polish industry urgently needs a strong stimulus to galvanize its development, like a plant that urgently needs water. Enterprises need expert personnel cadres who are capable of effective moves in the modern market economy world and can confidently meet its requirements. Universal privatization will secure them the chance of acquiring such personnel, through contracts with companies whose effective and efficient operations have already been tested. Procrastination will waste us billions and trillions of zlotys which could be gained from increased production, export revenues, tax revenues, and development of subcontracting companies.

Moreover, universal privatization presents the only chance for millions of citizens in our country to participate actively in economic processes—through the influence of the shares they will have purchased. Let me also add that a number of international organizations, including the EEC PHARE program, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the World Bank, have expressed their readiness to extend financial support to the universal privatization program in Poland.

[Rzemieniecki] But is there not a danger that our citizens might soon incur losses through, say, the bankruptcy of the companies whose shares they have purchased within the universal privatization scheme?

[Lewandowski] I am quite confident on this score. The 600 enterprises involved in the privatization program are, on the whole, companies of medium size, in a relatively good financial condition, not entangled in the trap of "bad debts" and certainly not facing the specter of impending bankruptcy. Nevertheless, they lack a certain momentum, they are short on new initiatives, and often they are unable to adapt to the conditions of modern market economy. They are unable to apply dynamic, progressive, offensive, and flexible methods and strategies. In their case, universal privatization can offer them new opportunities, new prospects. It will give them a chance which will be unrivaled in our contemporary economic reality.

[Rzemieniecki] Who will select and appoint members of the national investment fund supervisory boards?

[Lewandowski] A selection commission appointed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers on the basis of recommendations issued by the Sejm Commission for Ownership Transformations. The objective is to select people who enjoy public credibility and at the same time can guarantee sufficient professional expertise.

[Rzemieniecki] If, say, a retired person who had in the past been promised that he would receive compensation for unpaid remuneration in the form of government bonds, wishes to purchase a packet of share bonds, will such a transaction be regarded as his compensation entitlement?

[Lewandowski] No. They will be issued with special promisory share bonds apart from the ones they will be entitled to purchase within the universal privatization scheme.

[Rzemieniecki] Will ordinary rank-and-file citizens not become lost in the legal tangle of regulations, procedures, provisions, clauses, the small print, tips, recommendations, and warnings?

[Lewandowski] We will conduct a broad explanatory campaign through the television, radio, other media, and the publication of special brochures and other literature on the subject. This campaign will be spread over many months, and I do not believe that there will be any serious problems in the future for the aspiring private shareholders.

Walesa Meets With Wroclaw Unionists

AU1904140793 Warsaw PAP in English 2210 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Wroclaw, April 16—President Lech Walesa on Friday [16 April] urged Solidarity trade unionists in Wroclaw to mobilise for a better future. He also invited "Freedom Party" leader Kornel Morawiecki, who has in the past accused the president of being a former agent of the communist security services, to attend the meeting.

The meeting was organised by the Lower Silesian Network ("Siec") Regional Alliance of Solidarity Factory Committees. On his way into the meeting at the PZL "Hydral" State Aircraft Factory, Walesa was met by a group of "Freedom Party" activists carrying placards calling for Walesa to resign.

During the discussion inside, Morawiecki repeated the call for Walesa's resignation arguing that the president was impotent and lacked broad social support. He added that Walesa was protecting and befriending the postcommunist and newly rich elites who were only interested in private gain, not the good of Poland.

In reply, Walesa declared that the time for fighting had finished and that the time had come to build a new, democratic Poland. It was therefore better to work together instead of continually quarrelling, added the president.

Walesa said that the present situation was the last chance to change Poland. He thought that new forms of organisation like the "Siec" were necessary and that he would help the "Siec" with any initiatives it launched.

"I want to stir you up once again. To tell you to save yourselves, to show solidarity. How much better it would be in this country if we had kept an eye on the thieves, the cheats, the improper sale of the factories", Walesa told the trade unionists.

After the meeting, Walesa paid a brief visit to the Wroclaw metropolitan, Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz.

On Friday afternoon, an anti-Walesa demonstration took place in Wroclaw town centre organised by Morawiecki's "Freedom Party."

Official Says UN Owes Poland $2 Million

LD1704192393 Warsaw PAP in English 1548 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—The United Nations owes Poland a net amount of 2 million dollars.

On the one hand the U.N. owes Poland 13 million dollars as payment for the participation of Polish troops in U.N. peacekeeping operations, according to Colonel Marek Kowalczyk the commander of the Finance Department of the Polish Military Peacekeeping Missions.

Poland should receive a monthly payment from the U.N. of 1.9 million dollars but last year received only 40 per cent of this amount.

At the same time Poland owes the U.N. around 11 million dollars in obligatory payments for financing U.N. peacekeeping operations.

Around 1,800 Poles are taking part in the U.N. peacekeeping operations, 10 per cent of whom are civilians. Most of them are serving in the former Yugoslavia (around 900 people), and the smallest group is in Lebanon (80 people).

Sejm Passes Electoral Law Setting Thresholds

AU1904140893 Warsaw PAP in English 1820 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 15—The Sejm (lower house) after nearly three hours of voting passed a new election law by 239 to 132 in favour of the new law, with four abstentions.

The chamber accepted 15 out of nearly 90 proposed amendments to the draft as well as a minority motion. Just before the final vote on the entire draft package the Sejm rejected three motions, including one forwarded by Deputy Piotr Walerych of the Polish Action Party (AP) concerning the chamber's earlier decision not to vote on motions designed to include vetting measures in the law.

The new law maintains the principle which allows only those parties which gain at least five percent of the vote to win seats in parliament. The Sejm also voted to lower from 8 to 7 percent the vote threshold at the national level required to gain mandates from the nation-wide candidiate list. The new law maintains the to-date practice of voting for a specific candidate, based on choosing the individual from an electoral list.

The law changes election day from Sundays to non-working Saturdays and, in addition, the number of signatures required to register a list of candidates in a given constituency was raised from 3 to 5 thousand, and all candidates must make their party affiliations unequivocally clear.

Polish citizens living abroad are to be allowed to exercise their right of franchise in the next parliamentary elections despite their absence.

The law adopted by the Sejm Thursday differs from the previous law in several significant ways. If the senate does amend it in a fundamental manner and the president signs it, the next parliament is likely to include no more than than 10 political groupings.

This will chiefly come about as a result of the new vote thresholds adopted in the new law. In the distribution of seats at the local constituency level (391 in total) only those lists which receive 5 percent of the vote nationally will qualify for representation in the sejm. In the case of parties which are to participate in electoral alliances, the threshold is set at 8 percent. In order to receive one of the 69 seats alloted to the national constituency lists a 7 percent vote threshold must be met or surpassed. The previous electoral law made no mention of vote thresholds.

The new law retains measures designed to secure the position of ethnic minorities in parliament, although somewhat different than those found in the previous electoral law. Any ethnic electoral blocs are required to declare whether they would rather not have vote thresholds apply to their party lists at both the local and national constituency level.

The number of electoral constituencies nationwide remains unchanged at 52. The constituencies will continue to be based on provincial boundaries, with the exception of Warsaw (2 constituencies) and Katowice (3 constituencies).

Statistics Show Industrial Production Increase

LD1904173693 Warsaw PAP in English 1558 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 19—March was the first month this year in which industrial production rose and production in the construction industry showed an increase, according to the figures issued by the Main Statistical Office (GUS) on Monday.

GUS revealed that industrial production for March was 15.2 per cent higher and production in the construction industry 15.4 per cent higher than the previous month.

GUS also pointed out that there were 24 working days in March but only 21 in February (over 14 per cent more working time).

The March figures for industrial production were 6.8 per cent up on those for March last year. In processing industry the increase was 7.5 per cent, while in mining it was mere 0.1 per cent. Construction was 1.9 per cent down on March last year.

Compared to the average monthly figure for 1990, industrial production in March this year was down 3 per cent and the figures for construction were 9.1 per cent lower.

Russian Military Base is Transferred

LD1604220993 Warsaw PAP in English 1929 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 16—A Russian military base in Czarna Tarnowska, the province of Tarnow, was turned over to the Tarnow provincial governor on the basis of a protocol signed in Tarnow on Friday by representatives of the Russian and Polish Government plenipotentiaries for the stationing and withdrawal of Russian Armed Forces from Poland.

According to Polish Government plenipotentiary General Zdzislaw Ostrowski some 6,000 Russian facilities have been returned to Poland in the past three years. The remaining 1,000 facilities situated in 16 localities are to be turned over to Polish authorities by November 1992.

Iliescu Chairs Government Meeting on Subsidies

AU1704132393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1859 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/4/1993—The first part of the Romanian Government's meeting of Friday, April 16 was presided over by Romanian President Ion Iliescu, in virtue of his Constitutional prerogatives in case discussions refer to matters of particular import for the country.

One such issue is the May 1 scrapping of state subsidies for a series of goods and services and implementation of the adequate social protection measures.

President Iliescu pointed out that the population's worry was the result of several factors, like groundless price rises before subsidies are cut, which could undermine social stability and the government's action. It is therefore necessary that the government initiate checks that will do away with artificial pressures on prices.

Minister of Labor and Social Protection Dan Mircea Popescu showed that for this last stage of subsidies elimination the government envisaged to: Grant 100 percent compensation for the goods and services that will no longer be subsidised, plus indexation, which will be percentage-based. Subsidies will continue for medication and rents. To help families with children the children allowances will be increased to almost 3,000 lei. Also increased will be the other allowances, like unemployment benefit and subsistence allowance, etc.

President Iliescu made a series of suggestions on possible measures to create new jobs for the unemployed. He went on to refer to the necessity to speed up evaluation of the owner certificates and their prospective transformation into stocks, and the privatisation process in commerce, services, tourism and road transportation. For a solution to the difficult problem of nationalised houses, President Iliescu proposed examination and detachment of the less complicate cases and creation of a legislative frame to solve them, while the others would be the object of a later normative act.

Interior Minister George Ioan Danescu read a survey of the corruption acts since December 1992 and the causes having generated them. President Iliescu said it was necessary that the Interior and Justice Ministries, the Prosecutor General's Office, the Court of Accounts and the Supreme Court of Justice coordinate their actions in a future meeting in two-weeks' time in order to launch a generalised attack on corruption and organised crime. To the same effect the government will see to the promotion of exceptional measures to grant increased efficiency to the actions of the Prosecutor's Office and the judiciary.

Departs for United States

AU1904144393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1404 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/4/1993—"We hope this visit and our contacts, talks, dialogues there will mark a new stage in the development and multiplication of the relations between Romania and the United States" said Romanian President Ion Iliescu Monday, April 19 on leaving for the United States of America.

Reminding the journalists on Otopeni Airport that his visit was occasioned by the inauguration in Washington of the "Holocaust Museum," President Iliescu said:

"Of course, the tragedy of the Jewish people has a special significance through the scale and violence, savageness of a concrete plan to exterminate that population: Six million people mercilessly killed. It is the task of human civilisation to do away with the sources of such outbursts of primitivism, manifestations of man's worst instinctive drives, in order to put in place human force, vitality, creation directed at achieving good understanding and the ability to live together."

"The visit," President Iliescu opined, "will also give us the opportunity to have multiple political contacts, and not only political. We will have meetings at the White House, at the State Department, at the United States Congress. We will meet with businessmen, with representatives of banks and of international organisations—the IMF, the World Bank. So it will be three compact days of meetings and talks in Washington and one day in New York, also with a heavy enough schedule."

Asked by ROMPRES for a statement on the situation in Yugoslavia, President Iliescu said: "This will doubtlessly be one of the important moments of our discussions. We hope certain steps that have been taken, certain signals from both sides in the attempt to find solutions, will prove to have been useful. And we hope, too, that this week will be another step forward.

I will take this opportunity," the president added, "to discuss this matter with the American hosts, because we as neighbors of Yugoslavia are keenly interested in a peaceful political settlement of the problems in Yugoslavia."

Ministry Urges Political Solution to Conflict

AU1904142893 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 10-11 Apr 93 pp 1, 2

["Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" presented by Marcel Dinu, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; place and date not given]

[Text] The Security Council resolutions imposing the embargo against Yugoslavia call on all UN member states to adopt the measures they deem necessary to impose these sanctions. As a matter of fact, by virtue of these provisions, ships sailing under the flag of the WEU

[Western European Union] and NATO are deployed in the Adriatic to perform patrol missions and monitor effective implementation of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and observance of the embargo regarding military deliveries to the sides involved in the conflict in the area of former Yugoslavia. These resolutions also form the legal basis for sending WEU ships on patrol and monitoring missions on the Danube. In addition, in accordance with the UN Charter, the Security Council resolutions have priority over bilateral or multilateral accords and treaties. Consequently, the latter can no longer be taken into consideration in abiding by the Security Council embargo.

Regarding the WEU statement promising support in implementing the embargo on the Danube, a statement that expresses principled agreement with the assistance this organization intends to offer our country, Romania's government has declared its readiness to conduct negotiations to finalize the practical aspects of this action, bearing in mind the provisions of our domestic laws and international obligations. At the same time, Romania's government has emphasized that the application of restrictions and the embargo established by the Security Council constitute an obligation it has assumed as a UN member in accordance with the provisions of the UN Charter; it has also emphasized that Romania is not and cannot be committed to the observance of such obligations while, at the same time, abiding by its bilateral relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Under the current conditions, one can say that the only realistic way the embargo can be relaxed and even lifted would be the achievement of progress in the process of politically solving the conflict in former Yugoslavia and, first, the acceptance—by all communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina—of the Vance-Owen peace plan endorsed by the Security Council. Such a development would have an immediate positive effect on all those directly concerned, including the countries that have assumed the obligation to abide by the embargo, as is the case with Romania, which, in turn, is suffering great losses as a result.

Negritoiu Calls Privatization 'Only Solution'

AU1604193493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] In a radio broadcast today, Mr. Misu Negritoiu, minister, state secretary, and president of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform, answered listeners' questions in connection with privatization—from strategy to facts.

The privatization process, Negritoiu said, represents an alternative both for overcoming the impasse and for revamping and improving the living standards of the population. Privatization is an alternative and, in fact, the only solution for building a balanced market economy. It represents the ultimate aim of our reforms.

At the same time, Negritoiu referred to measures that will be taken to protect small-scale entrepreneurs both through financial means and by capitalizing on the property certificates as investment instruments in trade companies to be privatized.

Tangible measures will be taken to ensure favorable credits for a period of six or 10-15 years, primarily for small-scale entrepreneurs .

Government Ensures Supplies Before Subsidy Cuts

AU1604193593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] The Romanian Government has faxed us the following decision regarding measures for organizing normal commercial activity after the subsidy cuts on 1 May.

Article 1. In order to prevent disruptions to supplies of products whose prices will change on 1 May 1993, trade units are prohibited from stockpiling products for the purpose of selling them at higher prices.

Article 2. Until the new prices have been negotiated, products will be delivered and sold at the current prices.

Article 3. Stockpiling merchandise in order to create a shortage of supplies for the population during this period is prohibited.

Article 4. Violation of the provisions of the present decision will be established by the Financial Guard, financial control bodies, the Consumer Protection Office, the police, and by the control bodies of municipal and town prefects' offices, mayors' offices and bodies empowered by communal mayors, and will be punished in accordance with Law No. 12/1990 and its later amendments, the government decision stresses.

Isarescu Expects Stability From Subsidy Cuts

AU1604180193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0929 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 16/4/1993—Mugur Isarescu, the governor of the National Bank of Romania, an institution still coordinating financial-banking activities in Romania, told the weekly BURSA that the elimination on 1 May of state subsidies to some basic products and services "will be the last major shock for the population." "After May, we are hoping that by the instruments of the National Bank as well as through some economic policy measures to be taken by the government and of the economic agents we can concentrate more on fighting real inflation. Normally, an economic stability should come next and an exercise of control over inflation." Approaching the relation between devaluation and inflation, the governor of the National Bank of Romania is of the opinion that "both domestic inflation, manifested by a raise in the prices, and the devaluation of the national currency are two parts of the same phenomenon." The core of the issue is not this, but that of "an alarming disbalance between demands and offers," the volume of production being lower than that of consumption.

PNTCD Accuses Government of Hiding Money

AU1904183593 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Apr 93 p 3

[Marius Ghilezan article: "PNTCD: 'While Trade Unionists March on the Streets, the Government Is Hiding Billions of Lei'"]

[Text] "Considering that during his election campaign, Mr. Iliescu promised happiness if the elections were successful, and now when people are marching in the streets, it is difficult to explain that one should eat less," Mr. Corneliu Coposu said during the news conference organized yesterday at the headquarters of the National Peasant Christian Democracy Party [PNTCD]. While the trade unionists are filling the streets, the prime minister does not know—as Deputy Mircea Ciumara thinks—that the indexation and compensation of prices demanded by the trade unions—within the 80 percent limit—is something normal and in keeping with the accords signed between the government and the IMF.

"It was necessary for the trade unions to protest to induce the prime minister to come forward with a list of a few embezzlers in the national economy," Mr. Ciumara said. While a harsh austerity regime is imposed on the population, the government takes the liberty to hide funds from the budget, which could feed our impoverished workers. Incredible sums of money (100 billion lei), which are not recorded in the budget and are hidden from the Parliament, represent, in the PNTCD's opinion, a fraud of great proportions. "Even if [Finance] Minister Florin Georgescu has recognized the existence of only 60 billion lei, we still call it fraud," one of the speakers pointed out. Mr. Corneliu Coposu then revealed a sensational piece of news. He has recently learned that to monitor a telephone connection costs 200,000 lei. "Thus, given the tens of thousands of connections that are monitored, you can just calculate how much money is blown into the wind. In any case, ours is not clandestine work; we have nothing to conceal. They monitor us in vain."

Nicu Ceausescu Allegedly Makes Recovery

AU1904144793 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 14 Apr 93 p 1

[Unattributed note: "Nicu Ceausescu Paid a Visit to Domenii Market Place"]

[Text] Provisionally released from the penitentiary for health reasons, his diagnosis being cirrhosis of the liver and third degree varicose veins in the esophagus, Nicu Ceausescu has experienced a spectacular recovery. Doing some shopping in the Domenii market place, he was immediately recognized by people. "You are looking good, my dear," a peasant woman said to him from whom Nicusor [diminutive from Nicu] was buying spring onions and garlic. Smiling slightly ironically, the son of the former dictator did not get involved in a dialogue, but preferred to discreetly get behind the wheel of a Mitsubishi Colt 185, along with a nice and very tall blond.

HVO, Muslims Clash in Mostar, Zenica

AU1904124493

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 19 April carries in its regular 22-minute newscast several reports on the clashes between the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in central Bosnia.

The studio announcer says that "last night there was an armed clash between the members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], in which three Army and three HVO members were wounded. The first clash occurred last night at about 2030 near the burnt-out remains of the shopping center Hit, where the soldiers were wounded. This morning at around 0500 there was another clash in the district of (?Sermica) and one Bosnia-Herzegovina Army member was wounded. The Fourth Corps Information Service says that the HVO members used mortars."

Mujo Delibegovic reports from Zenica that "a general alarm was sounded here several minutes ago, and two mortars landed in the city itself. There are some wounded. Fierce clashes are in progress in the region of Vitez. Muslim villages are being shelled from 155-mm howitzers. The HVO, which is still in control of Vitez, continues to carry out arrests, to harass and to murder people."

The studio announcer says that "Arif Pasalic, commander of the Fourth Corps, issued an order last night at 1800 to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units in Konjic to cease fire at the HVO. This was based on a joint statement signed by Messrs. Izetbegovic and Boban. After that order, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army guns fell silent. However, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army reports that the HVO was still resisting, so they resumed the shelling of certain parts of the town. The night was quieter but this morning began with Chetnik shells fired from the region of Bijela. Fusillades of small arms fire can be heard from the few positions around the city that are still in the hands of the HVO."

In his report from Kiseljak or Visoko, Salih Hadzialic says that "according to the information we are receiving in the command of the East Operative Group, the situation in their zone of responsibility, particularly around Kiseljak, is deteriorating. Yesterday morning, HVO units in Kiseljak launched an attack on Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units there, and set about arresting Muslims. Movement is limited for the Muslims in Kiseljak, that is, they are not allowed to leave town. Yesterday HVO units used 82-mm mortars to shell the Muslim villages of Bilalovac, Humac, (?Brezova Kosa), and (?Duka). The fighting stopped at about 1700 yesterday afternoon. During the night, the Muslim population was reported as moving out of the villages of (?Glomionica), Svinjarevo, and (?Rotiv), after which the HVO set these villages on fire."

Reporting from Novi Travnik, Sabahudin Miso says that "it is relatively peaceful here, but HVO soldiers are hindering the free movement of citizens, that is, nobody is allowed to enter that part of town under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army or vice versa."

Clashes Continue

LD1904163893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Report by Antonio Pehar]

[Excerpts] Attacks by the Muslim forces on Croatian villages and on Croats continue unabated in central Bosnia. We have learned from the Travnik Croatian Defense Council [HVO] that the Muslim forces have been attacking Vitez and Busovaca since this morning, targeting the town centers with artillery. An attack on the HVO positions in Kiseljak from the direction of Visoko began this morning. Croatian villages in the Kiseljak municipality are also being attacked. We do not have any exact casualty figures because of the fierce Muslim attacks and urgent activities in defending and protecting Croats in the area.

We have learned from the HVO main headquarters that Jablanica has been ethnically cleansed of Croats. Family homes of expelled Croats are being looted and set on fire. Fierce defense by the Croatian people is also under way in the Konjic area. Zenica has been virtually cleansed from Croats by the Muslim forces. Remaining Croats in Zenica are being caught and detained in the mine and remand center. Chetniks are using the situation to pound Zenica intermittently from Pagenik [word indistinct] and the Muslim commanders are blaming the HVO in order to spread their anti-HVO propaganda.

We have learned from the HVO main headquarters information service that the Muslim units are openly attacking the HVO members and particularly civilians on the outskirts of Zenica. The civilian Croatian population is being killed in the streets and in villages, Croatian homes are being burned, and people are fleeing. The Muslim forces are using tanks and heavy artillery in these operations. After the completed ethnic cleansing of Cajrdas, and looting, the greater part of the Muslim forces were sent to Vitez and Busovaca.

The situation in Mostar is extremely tense. Shooting is caused by the Muslim forces. [passage omitted]

The HVO government of Herceg-Bosna held a session in Mostar today. Proceeding from the fact that the HVO of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna is at this crucial moment the protector of national rights of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats, the defense and internal affairs departments were given the task to take all available military-mobilization measures to provide full protection for the Croats throughout the territory of Herceg-Bosna, including the residential areas outside the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna.

Regarding the involvement of UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] and EC observers mission, aimed at stopping the confrontations, the HVO took a stand that the UNPROFOR operation centers with proportional representation of HVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and Command of the international peacekeeping forces in the Mostar Province could be formed only provided the same bodies are simultaneously formed in Zenica and, depending on the situation, in other places in central Bosnia. It was concluded that cochairmen of the peace conference and representatives of all peace and humanitarian organizations on the territory of former Yugoslavia should be regularly informed about the behavior of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and mojahidin it was concluded. Tasks for other departments were set in detail at the meeting, particularly the tasks for the department for refugees, which has to secure conditions on the territory of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna for receiving Croats expelled from central Bosnia.

Mostar Clash Reported

LD2004092493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako from Mostar]

[Excerpt] After 2000 last night, shooting started in Mostar and it lasted until dawn. According to the southeast Herzegovina command, Muslim forces attacked Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units with light infantry weapons and bazookas. According to the same source, everything started when Muslim forces opened sniper fire from a bank building in Mostar. There were no casualties among the HVO members and we still do not have any information about Muslim losses. [passage omitted]

Croats Reportedly Attack Zenica

AU1904154593

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 19 April reports further on the clashes between the units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army:

Tuzla correspondent Mujo Delibegovic reports that howitzer attacks by the HVO units on the town center started at noon. He says that "six Zenica residents were killed on the spot, while another seven succumbed later to the injuries." "Some 30 seriously injured civilians were brought to Zenica hospital, but this number is definitely not final," Delibegovic says. According to him, the Third Corps Command appealed to the residents to "stay at home, go into cellars or to the nearest shelter." As Delibegovic says, "the cowardly and bestial attacks of the HVO members against the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army continue with unabated ferocity." "The densely populated Muslim villages of Lupac and (?Preocica), which are exclusively civilian targets, have been shelled with heavy 155-mm caliber howitzers and [word indistinct] from the direction of Vitez," he reports. "Arrests, harassment, and the killing of innocent civilians continues in Vitez commune, which is still under the control of the HVO," Delibegovic continues, and adds that "the detainees are being taken to several places in Vitez and its surroundings—for example, the school in Dubravice, the Workers' University, and other similar places. As he further reports, "civilians, women, children, and the elderly are being used as a live barrier in front of the HVO knights who are bravely back stabbing women and children who yesterday were their colleagues in the struggle against the common enemy." As he says, "a vast majority of the HVO members in Zenica declined to carry out HVO orders." It is also reported that "numerous HVO members in Zenica have crossed over to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and taken an active part in the struggle against all forms of fascism together with the army fighters."

"The fate of the Muslims in the village of (?Olmisina) is still uncertain," a report by the press service of the 44th Hill Brigade of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army claims. "Ostrozac is under constant fire of antiaircraft machine guns and antiaircraft guns from the positions of HVO units," the report says, "including its primary school that is housing refugees." "Jablanica has also been under the attack of HVO artillery since 1325," the report says, adding that three rockets exploded on the premises of the town's primary school and kindergarten.

Novi Travnik correspondent Sabahudin Miso reports that "hundreds of Novi Travnik residents—predominantly Muslims from the part of the town that is under the HVO's control—have been crossing into the part of town controlled by the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in the last two days." As he further reports, "a substantial number of Croatian residents of this town addressed the command of the communal defense headquarters and expressed their great dissatisfaction with the attacks of the HVO units at Vitez and a large-scale massacre of the civilians in Ahici." At the end, Miso reports that "at this very moment, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Command and the HVO Command in Novi Travnik have all their units under absolute control, which instills some hope that the clashes between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO in Vitez, Busovaca, and around Zenica will not spread to the Novi Travnik region."

Croats Hold Government Responsible

LD1704220193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] In connection with Muslim attacks on the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and Croatians in central Bosnia, the HVO sent a communique to the Presidency and Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We will read the entire communique.

Dear gentlemen, following Muslim attacks on Croatian villages in the Konjic municipality and in several municipalities in central Bosnia, this afternoon the HVO of the

Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna received a new distressing report from the Zenica municipality. This trustworthy report says that terrorist attacks by Muslim extremists are on the increase, and not only against HVO units and commands, but what is of particular concern, against civilians of Croatian nationality.

Thus local Muslim forces, along with mojahedin from abroad, have taken complete control of all key points in Zenica. Croatian houses and HVO positions are under attacks from snipers and light artillery weapons. Local Croatians are being arrested en mass and maltreated. Terror has already driven Croatian residents out of Gornja Zenica, from the district of Luke. The exodus of Croatians from the village of (Bilivoda) near Zenica is in progress. The Croatian residents in that municipality and throughout the entire Zenica region have good reasons to be afraid. Even more so because local HVO units were organized exclusively to fight against the Serbian aggressor.

Due to all this, the HVO of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna believes that the Presidency and Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as the bodies commanding Bosnia-Herzegovina's Army units, must take full responsibility for such conduct of the Muslim units in the Zenica municipality and other areas, where similar attacks on Croatian villages and HVO positions have occurred: Konjic, Jablanica, Vitez, and other areas.

We therefore demand that the Presidency and Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina immediately halt these attacks and secure the evacuation of imperilled Croatians. International humanitarian law and many conventions oblige them to do this. The HVO of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna has taken on the responsibility to receive displaced persons, although the area of Herceg-Bosna is already swollen by Muslim refugees from other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, whose century-long dwellings the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has failed to defend from the Serbian aggressor.

We demand that the International Red Cross, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the EC observer mission, and the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] command for Bosnia-Herzegovina verify the claims from this letter, and then urge the Presidency and Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina to take swift and effective action in order to save the attacked Croatians in central Bosnia.

The HVO of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna believes that its main task is to provide protection for civilians—in this particular case Croatians—from any kind of terror and attacks by extremist forces. The HVO of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna will work to fulfil the demands put before the Presidency and Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the same time, it will, on a regular basis, inform the domestic and foreign public and international factors about the plight of Croatians in parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina where Muslim forces have military authority.

We hope that those to whom the letter is addressed will understand the circumstances and the difficult situation in which Croatians have found themselves in parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that they will—as much as it is within their competence and authority—take adequate measures, the HVO communique, signed by President Jadranko Prlic, says.

Army Reportedly Took Prisoners

AU1904131793 Paris AFP in English 1304 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Zagreb, April 19 (AFP)—Some 400 Croats from the town of Jablanica are being held prisoner by Moslem forces, and six Croat soldiers were killed by Moslem attackers in the Croat-held town of Kiseljak, Croatian sources said Monday [19 April].

The military leader of Croatian forces in Bosnia, Veso Vegar, told AFP that the 400 townspeople were chased out of their homes Sunday and taken to an undisclosed location. Vegar was reached by telephone in Mostar.

The Croatian news agency HINA meanwhile reported that the military command of Bosnian Croat forces feared there were many civilian casualties in the attack Sunday on Kiseljak. The town's church and several city centre houses were damaged, the report said.

Despite ceasefire appeals from Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban, fighting continued Monday between Moslem and Croat forces in central Bosnia, Zagreb television said.

According to estimates by British troops with the U.N. Protection Force, about 70 people have been killed and 100 wounded in clashes in the past few days betwen Croat and Moslem forces, which are nominal allies against Bosnian Serb forces.

Causes of Muslim-Croat Conflict Examined

93BA0850A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 pp 30-31

[Interview with Dr. Semso Tankovic, president of the Democratic Action Party of Croatia and director of the Office of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Zagreb, by Ivan Sabic; place and date not given: "My Ustashism Was a Frameup"]

[Text] Dr. Semso Tankovic, president of the SDA [Democratic Action Party] of Croatia and director of the Office of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Zagreb, has on several occasions "jolted" the Croatian public with statements about the situation in relations between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia and about the position of Muslims in Croatia. About one of the most recent "shocks" to the public, the statement that only the Ustasha idea can unify Croats and Muslims, he says:

"That statement evoked stormy reactions in the Serbian media and from a considerable portion of Muslim intellectuals. Many fighting men from the Sava Valley in Bosnia have also contacted me and support it completely. Mostar intellectuals, who for almost three years now have been waging outright war with my views, were the most specific on this occasion as well: They sent an open letter to Vukojevic and Tankovic. Many papers have asked me to use their pages to conduct a dialogue with the 'intellectuals from Mostar.' I have refused those offers and offered my response to OSLOBODJENJE out of a desire to avoid sensationalism and to clarify the statement to the Bosnian people, who have the sole right to require explanations from me.

"In my response, I called the statement a 'frameup.' Familiar with the political scene of the former Yugoslavia, I knew what kind of reaction such a statement would evoke. I could have expressed the whole thing more decently, as a conflict between two options: Macek's and Starcevic's. Macek's option, which is today represented in its entirety by the leading party in Croatia, recognizes neither Bosnia nor the Bosnian people. Starcevic's option, which is set against it, holds that Bosnia and Croatia are a single geopolitical space in which two peoples and two states can and must build a common future."

[Sabic] It is your view that Ustashism as an idea is after all viable today?

[Tankovic] When I speak about the Ustasha idea, then I am exercising every intellectual's right to use the richness of the spoken language in the full sense of the word. The old Bosnian word "ustash," "ustasha," denotes a person who has risen up against some force that is threatening him. Over the last 50 years or so, that word has been displaced in use by the word "ustanik," a rebel. Sulek translates the word "ustasha" as die Austaendischen, insurgents. In the Serbian language, the word "ustasha" can be found in Popovic's *Serbian-German Dictionary*. Recently, an outright war has been waged in the media between the Muslims and Croats in which each side would like to impute the other betrayal of national interests, that is, to the effect that only the Muslims (or only the Croats) are fighting the Chetniks. But the truth is quite different. Only a portion of the Muslims are fighting the Chetniks, only a portion of the Croats are fighting the Chetniks. A considerable number of both Muslims and Croats have abandoned Bosnia and left it to the mercy of the Chetnik criminals. And while Srebrenica, Brcko, Bihac, Sarajevo, Buzim, and numerous other towns are writing the most glorious days of recent Bosnian history, a sizable portion of Bosnia is "falling in a whisper." Instead of fighting, they have fled out into the world, grieving for Bosnia's miserable fate, seeking the culprit in everyone but themselves. My words mostly refer to them. We must stand up and fight. Only the idea of insurgency (I use the expression Ustasha idea) can save the Bosnian people from the barbarians who have come from the east. Anyone who is unable to fight for his home relinquishes the right to live in Bosnia.

[Sabic] Last June, you wrote an article for GLOBUS which implied that the disagreements between the Croats and Muslims in Bosnia had mostly been caused by self-styled leaders who had intercepted aid packages. Would your explanation be different today?

[Tankovic] I am afraid that we can no longer speak just of disagreements here. These are conflicts which may even escalate if there is not enough reason, wisdom, and willingness to move in the direction of common defense. I see the causes of the conflicts in the nervous desire of the HZ [Croatian Community] of Herceg-Bosnia to round off and realize the Vance-Owen plan in its entirety. This effort knows and recognizes only the attributes of power and weapons. They have given political blackmail the shape of military pressure. The Muslims have only opposed that assault. I hope that both sides will draw sound conclusions from those events. Conflicts between us are harmful to us both.

[Sabic] Alija Izetbegovic went to the negotiations in New York with the authority to accept the Vance-Owen plan in its entirety if certain prior conditions were met. If Izetbegovic affixes his third signature, will the Muslims really accept the existence of provinces in the form that plan envisages?

[Tankovic] If you will forgive me, I would issue the reproach that both you and numerous media in Croatia, when you speak about Mr. Izetbegovic, forget that he is president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is, before the president's departure for New York I had an extensive talk with him about the Vance-Owen plan. The president gave me a written version of the introductory address and conclusions of the joint session of the Assembly, the Presidency, and the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was held in Sarajevo on 14 March 1993.

In a frank conversation, I expressed my unwillingness to accept the Vance-Owen plan in its entirety as a pledge to the future of Bosnia and the Bosnian people. In response to the president's question, I explicitly said that I would not sign that document. I see the main objection to that plan in the breakup of Bosnia and in its conveying the attribute of sovereignty to Croatia and Serbia. Experience in our part of the world has shown that a state in which there is no army is condemned to ruin.

[Sabic] So, you believe that the Vance-Owen plan cannot be a road toward improvement of Croatian-Muslim relations in Bosnia?

[Tankovic] Yes! The causes of the conflict between Croats and Muslims should be sought in the fact that after Graz there was a different definition of the fight for the survival of Bosnia. While the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] was concluding an agreement with the Serbs in which it exclusively sought the right to round out "historical Croatian entities," our objective has remained the same—to preserve Bosnia intact for all its citizens regardless of nationality and religion. It was political differentiation that resulted in the gradual growth of distrust and confrontation that have resulted in unnecessary casualties. Both southern provinces which go to the Croats under the Vance-Owen plan have approximately the same proportions of Muslim and Croatian inhabitants. In such a situation, it makes more sense to shape regionalism in Bosnia in a different way.

[Sabic] You consider the Vance-Owen plan unacceptable. What would be the best alternative to it?

[Tankovic] I see the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina in a restoration of the spirit of community which resulted in the referendum and the independence of Bosnia. Many people forget that it was in Split that I publicly stated for the first time the need to create a confederation between Bosnia and Croatia. The reactions from both sides were altogether favorable. The better analysts could easily ascertain that at those moments there were important changes on the Bosnian battlefield. Instead of going in that direction, Boban's faction has been working to detract from the idea of community. In short, there are too many small-minded people holding responsible positions.

[Sabic] We often hear that Islamic fundamentalism is taking root in Bosnia, that it could thence be a serious danger to all of Europe, and that this is one of the reasons why the world does not take more decisive measures against Karadzic and his Chetniks. Are any of these assertions well-founded in your opinion?

[Tankovic] I have not received a valid answer to the question of "What is Islamic fundamentalism?" which I put two years ago in VJESNIK. I am anxiously awaiting it, knowing full well that Islamic fundamentalism can be discussed only scholastically as something that does not exist in practice. Just as in the Middle Ages numerous theologians discussed how many devils could stand on the tip of a needle. Because devils are invisible creatures, the discussions could go on indefinitely, and everyone could keep his own truth to himself. As for the world and its alleged fear of fundamentalism in Bosnia, this can pass only with politicians like Boban, Akmadzic, and their ilk. The problem is not the world's attitude toward Bosnia, but the attitude of the countries surrounding Bosnia and reaching out for its territory. The world recognizes only the strong and only the victors. Perhaps some lyrical soul will fly to Bosnia and grieve for our casualties and talk about the injustice done to the "good Bosnians." However, only strength of the spirit and the strength of arms can drive Karadzic and the other criminals back. We will have no trouble with the world, we will have no trouble with Europe. Incidentally, why is the world not helping Croatia to liberate its territory? Perhaps they are bothered about Catholic fundamentalism?

[Sabic] What would Bosnia look like in the future as a country which honored the idea that Islam "not only nurtures man, but also regulates the world," as Alija Izetbegovic wrote in *Islamska Deklaracija* (*Islamic Declaration*) and in which at the same time there would be no Islamic radicalism?

[Tankovic] When the aggression against Bosnia was prepared, an outright propaganda war was waged in the Serbian media against *Islamska Deklaracija* and its author. The heedlessness and brutality of the aggression against Bosnia have shown that the creators of that propaganda knew what they were doing and why. The Croatian political scene has talked for a long time about the "age-old community" of the Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats, and was not taken in by these and similar deceptions. Today, the situation in the Croatian media is altogether different. My joint statement with Mr. Vico Vukojevic helped me to understand that the anti-Muslim virus has been carried over here. Perhaps it would be easiest for me to shake my head and hope that reason will prevail. However, I recognize only effort and the struggle for the truth. As a true believer, I accept Islam as the authentic faith which directs man to do good, and I behave accordingly. Most of us in the leadership of the SDA are true believers. The bulk of our sympathizers and our voters are also believers. Radicalism, which you have mentioned incidentally, could be present on the political scene for a time, but it is not possible over any lengthy period. We cannot view Bosnia outside developments in the world and worldwide criteria. Likewise, Islam cannot be interpreted exclusively through the prism of certain journalistic scribblers who no longer attempt to conceal their animosity toward everything Islamic and wrap it in cellophane. Bosnia cannot be built as a religious state, but it must be a state in which the rights of believers will be fully respected. In that context, the rights of all believers, including Muslims, of course, must be fully respected. A logic of double standards cannot be accepted.

[Sabic] The press release of the Press Center of the Bosnian Army issued concerning the expulsion of Armin Pohara from the zone of responsibility of the 2d Corps says that the pious fighting men were particularly irritated by Pohara's consummation of alcohol during Ramadan. Should so much importance have been given to his consumption of alcohol?

[Tankovic] By way of general information, Islam prohibits consumption of all drugs. Consummation of alcohol is haram (taboo). Unfortunately, in Bosnia, in spite of everything, there is a long tradition of consumption of alcoholic beverages, brandy particularly. However, in that same tradition there are periods when even chronic alcoholics cease to drink. The time of the Ramadan fast is such a time. Many smokers cease to smoke during the day, many alcoholics do not consume alcohol at all during Ramadan, etc. If it is true that Armin Pohara consumed alcohol in front of the fighting men during Ramadan, then he crossed the line of refined behavior to say the least. He should have known that as a member of Islam. I am much more disturbed that Pohara is accused of inconsistency by the Supreme Command of the Bosnian Army without any arguments or evidence at all. Armin Pohara deserves every credit for all that he has done and is doing for Bosnia and the Bosnian people, but the army must be led by professionals capable of building an army for us which will be able to defend our homes and our honor once and for all time. There must be no room here for dilettantism and a double standard of morality. After 160 years, Bosnia is beginning to build its army, and that army will defend every foot of the Bosnian land that is sacred to us. The path to such an army is not uncomplicated and demands many sacrifices. In that context, we should respect the right of all pious citizens to have the dogmas of their faith respected.

Izetbegovic Interviewed on Zagreb Meeting With Boban

LD1904214993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Izetbegovic today spoke about the results of his visit to some Arab and European countries in an interview to Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television. President Izetbegovic also reflected on the latest conflicts between the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The interview was conducted by editor Vladimir Bilic.

[Begin recording] [Bilic] In Zagreb you met Mate Boban, president of the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina. You also signed a four-point agreement. As far as I know, however, we are only familiar with the first and only point, the one referring to an end to the conflicts.

[Izetbegovic] [Words indistinct] there is nothing else in it except the realization that the conflicts are [word indistinct] if they continue. Army and HVO units have been ordered to cease all [words indistinct] and work out a cease-fire on the spot. I also suggested that a provision be included on the formation of joint command bodies. Boban said that this was unnecessary at the moment, that these things could be resolved through talks [words indistinct]. The problems [words indistinct] this is a form of pressuring me as well as the people, us here, in order to obtain a solution whereby these provinces would be capable of [words indistinct]. As you know, [words indistinct] Boban gave a statement some 10-15 days ago which in effect resurrected Rajic's idea according to which army units in these provinces should be subordinated to the HVO Headquarters and HVO units should be subordinated in the other provinces to the Army General Staff or [word indistinct]. We, of course, did not accept this as we proceed from the notion—included in an agreement jointly signed in the presence of the cochairmen of the conference—that these provinces are not the ethnic sphere of any one people; these are multiethnic domains. Some of them are usually seen as Croatian, some as Muslim and some as Serbian. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Izetbegovic on Srebrenica Situation, Clashes with HVO

LD1804212693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Statement by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Bosnia-Herzegovina radio, television, and press, on returning to Sarajevo on 18 April—live or recorded]

[Text] As you have said, I have just returned from a trip. Two issues have been in the focus of our attention in the recent days: Srebrenica, and our unfortunate clashes with the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in Herzegovina.

Concerning Srebrenica, it seems that a turning point has been reached which might, despite everything, succeed in saving the town. According to the latest news, it seems that this will happen. When I arrived at the airport, I had a meeting with General Morillon and General Wahlgren [UN Protection Force commanders]. They told me, as heralds of good news, that the Canadian battalion entered the town, probably early this afternoon, and that the evacuation of the wounded had started.

We hope that this will usher in a better situation, that this will save the local civilians and our soldiers, especially the wounded, whose evacuation is underway. There are at least 500 wounded in the town there—soldiers and civilians.

According to the latest reports, the cease-fire is holding. We expect this to continue. What happened there was a tragedy. All this time we have directed our efforts toward finding a solution. At one moment I even made a very risky move when two days ago I said that if Srebrenica fell, we would consider our signature at the Vance-Owen plan withdrawn. Perhaps that has had some influence on passing an urgent decision in the Security Council. I of course cannot judge that at the moment, but we have done everything we could in the political sphere in order to save the local people, even if we could not do what needed to be done in the military sphere.

As for the second issue—which is also a very difficult problem and has meanwhile become very complicated, especially in herzegovina and central Bosnia—I refer to the conflicts between us and HVO units, well, I do not know the reasons behind them. Only last night I met Mr. Boban in Zagreb. We signed a four-point statement calling for an immediate end to the fighting and to a totally irrational conflict which can, in fact, be described as the best possible present which we can give to the chetniks today.

My conclusion, reached on the basis of all reports I have received so far, is that the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] army units did not provoke the current conflict. On the contrary, there are indications that point in the opposite situation. However, we will see. It will all be investigated. And of course, the statement jointly issued last night with Mr. Boban does not mean that the problem has been solved. I hope that the clashes will stop, and in order to resolve the conflict I have asked representatives or rather the cochairmen of the conference to become involved. Talks, or a meeting will most likely take place at the end of the week between me, President Tudjman, Boban and probably one team from each side, to try and find more lasting solutions and to stop such conflicts from occuring again. I see a lasting solution in the creation of joint commands, but this is a matter to be dealt with during our talks. Thank you.

UN Convoy Reaches Srebrenica With 70 Tonnes of Food

AU1904133593 Paris AFP in English 1331 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 19 (AFP)—A U.N. convoy carrying relief supplies arrived in Srebrenica Monday [19 April], but will not evacuate refugees as originally planned due to opposition from local officials, a U.N. spokeswoman said here.

Lyndall Sachs said the nine-truck convoy organized by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) carried 70 tonnes of food for the 30,000 residents and refugees in the beseiged eastern Bosnian town.

Srebrenica is ringed by Serbian forces after a ceasefire was reached Sunday under which the city's Moslem defenders agreed to hand over their arms to a force of 135 Canadian U.N. peacekeepers sent in to guard against possible abuses by the besieging Serbs.

Sachs said the convoy was originally to have evacuated some 1,000 people from Srebrenica to the larger Moslem-held town of Tuzla to the north, but that local authorities blocked the move because the Serbs had given no guarantees they would eventually be able to return to the region.

UN Troops Prevented From Reaching Srebrenica

AU1904163093 Paris AFP in English 1615 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 19 (AFP)—Serb forces on Monday [19 April] prevented two platoons of Canadian peacekeeping troops from going to the eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave of Srebrenica, U.N. spokeswoman Aracelly Santana said.

It was the first incident marring the application of a plan signed Sunday [18 April] by the Bosnian Serb and Moslem military chiefs and the U.N. commander in ex-Yugoslavia, General Eric-Lars Wahlgren, for demilitarizing Srebrenica and placing it under U.N. protection.

Sunday, 135 Canadian peacekeepers arrived in Srebrenica, which was on the verge of falling to Serb units after an 11-month siege, to take the weapons of the Moslem defenders.

The two platoons, sent as reinforcements, left from Tuzla to the northwest but were halted by the Serbs on the front line at Caparde, west of Zvornik, and had to turn back, Santana said.

The soldiers, whose number was not immediately known, were apparently stopped at a Serb checkpoint after having refused to stop at a previous one, she said.

Santana was unable to say whether the process of handing over weapons had got underway. The Moslems were given 72 hours from the arrival of the U.N. troops on Sunday to hand over all their military hardware.

Last Casualties Evacuated From Srebrenica Hospital

LD1904171593 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1613 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By Charles Miller, PRESS ASSOCIATION defence correspondent]

[Text] British and French helicopter crews today successfully evacuated all the sick and wounded from the hospital in the besieged Bosnian town of Srebrenica.

"The Srebrenica hospital is now empty," said a British military spokesman. "The sick and injured are now being brought from other parts of the town and nearby villages."

Many of the injured rescued today had lost limbs in the year-long siege by Serb forces.

They arrived in the northeastern Muslim town of Tuzla swathed in dirty bandages, many with infections after makeshift operations often without any form of anaesthetic.

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Tuzla estimated another 280 wounded would need to be evacuated after today's operation.

The Royal Navy Sea Kings and French Pumas had to call a temporary halt to the operation at one stage so that the authorities in Tuzla could keep pace with the flood of wounded.

The helicopters began the rescue operation under a UN-mediated ceasefire agreement signed by Muslim and Serb military commanders in Sarajevo.

The agreement is intended to protect the eastern Bosnian town which has been besieged by Serb forces for more than a year and to evacuate refugees who want to leave.

Meanwhile, Sead Bekric, the 13-year-old Muslim boy blinded by shrapnel, was due to be flown by helicopter from hospital in Tuzla to the Croatian port of Split.

Bianca Jagger, working with the AmeriCares relief agency, has been trying for several days to evacuate the boy.

A spokesman for the agency said it was planned to fly him by air ambulance to Amsterdam and then on to Los Angeles where he will be treated in one of the world's top eye clinics.

About 220 sick and wounded were evacuated from Srebrenica today and officials were considering whether to continue the operation tomorrow.

Serbian Officer: Srebrenica Muslims Must Surrender Arms

LD1904203793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1931 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—General Milan Gvero, deputy commander of the general staff of the Serbian republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] army has stated that "the Serbian side will fully comply with the signed agreement and international rules of war," and added that for him personally the essential thing is that the Srebrenica Muslims surrender their weapons, after which a procedure envisaged by law will be initiated against them.

During the break at the meeting in camera at Sarajevo airport with a Muslim military delegation, in the presence of Lars-Eric Wahlgren, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander for former Yugoslavia and Philippe Morillon, commander of the UN peacekeeping force in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Gvero stressed to the Serbian "S" television channel that the question that arises is what to do if the the Muslim forces do not surrender their weapons within 72 hours, as agreed, SRNA reports.

"We insist on observing the international rules of war, which means that lists of uniformed people and of all weapons in the area should be drawn up. I proposed that after the weapons are surrendered, they should all be collected at one point and totally destroyed," Gvero said, adding that the Serbs do not need the war any more.

Answering a question regarding the evacuation of the wounded from Srebrenica, Gvero said that the evacuation should be secured at the pace envisaged by the agreement.

According to him, "UNPROFOR was obliged to send us a detailed report on the number of wounded and seriously ill by 18 April, since further evacuation, which has already begun under our doctors' supervision, depends on this, and a large number of the wounded should have already been evacuated."

He stressed that Jovan Divjak, a representative of the Muslim army at the talks, insisted that members of the Muslim army who had committed numerous crimes on Serb civilians be allowed to leave Srebrenica.

Karadzic: UN Resolution 'Absolutely Incomprehensible'

AU1804202693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Telephone interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], by Momcilo Boskovic; place and time not given—recorded]

[Boskovic] Good day! Mr. Karadzic, before the interview allow me to wish you Easter greetings. Christ has risen [traditional Easter greeting]!

[Karadzic] He has risen, good day!

[Boskovic] What is your view of the UN Security Council decision to tighten sanctions against Yugoslavia?

[Karadzic] This is an absolutely incomprehensible and irrational move that further compromises the international community and the United Nations and is signaling the twilight of the instruments of the international community, just as it was with the League of Nations before World War II.

[Boskovic] Have you received any confirmation via the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] command whether last night's telephone [as heard] report concerning the events around Srebrenica had been forwarded to the UN Security Council?

[Karadzic] I am not sure. If they had wanted the truth they could have got it. The bottom line is that the governments certainly knew the truth. The French Foreign Ministry was deliberately spreading the lie about our conquest of Srebrenica, which we could have conquered naturally but did not want to as this was not our objective.

[Boskovic] General Philippe Morillon [UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina] promised to rescue the Serbs in Tuzla who have been waiting a long time to leave this town that is being held by the Muslims. What is happening with the evacuation of these people?

[Karadzic] General Wahlgren [UNPROFOR commander for former Yugoslavia] and General Morillon attended Easter lunch together with the delegation of the Russian parliament. General Morillon promised once again that someone from the international community will take care of the Serbs, as in this war nobody thinks of the Serb hostages in Sarajevo, Tuzla, and other towns. I expect the Muslim side to give in soon and comply with the Geneva Convention on free movement of civilians. Unfortunately, the international community is not exerting any sort of pressure upon the Muslim side in this respect. We will exert pressure, however, and I hope that we will succeed in liberating the Serbs.

[Boskovic] Finally, Mr. Karadzic, you have stated on several occasions that if new sanctions are imposed on

Yugoslavia, you will discontinue all further peace negotiations. Will you stick to this?

[Karadzic] Absolutely. We shall decide at the assembly session that will be held soon whether we will do this before 26 April, that is, before the implementation of the sanctions, or after their possible implementation. We do not want to cooperate with those who unilaterally and ruthlessly punish the Serbian nation. With his calls for military intervention against the Serbs, Lord Owen discredited himself as an objective negotiator. We do not know how the new cochairman Stoltenberg will prove to be, but Lord Owen, as an EC champion, demonstrated his total bias, and we do not see what could possibly be negotiated in his presence or with him that would not be to our detriment.

[Boskovic] Thank you for the interview, Mr. Karadzic.

[Karadzic] Thank you, too.

NATO Aircraft Reportedly Flying Low Over Banja Luka

AU1904103293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Immediately before our midday newscast, our correspondent Branislav Bozic sent a report from Banja Luka. Here is what he reported;

[Begin recording] Between 0730 and 0830 this morning, NATO aircraft flew low over Banja Luka and its wider neighborhood. The air force command has not yet made a statement, but we have learned unofficially that at one point the aircraft were flying at an altitude of just 400-450 meters. Thus, it has been noticed that above the woods, they released [word indistinct] decoys, or, to put it more clearly, special particles that deceive radar.

There has however been no great excitement in Banja Luka or Bosnian Krajina. Life is going on normally this morning. [end recording]

Serbs Protest Flights

LD1904153593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1313 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—General staff of the army of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegivina] today protested to the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Command over NATO aircraft low-altitude flights over Banja Luka.

The protest letter, made available to Belgrade TANJUG, says that today, at 0750, "in the no-fly zone within the 'Deny Flight' action, two NATO alliance aircraft flew over the Banja Luka area at an altitude lower than 400. The flights took place over a city having a population of various nationalities and with civilian buildings," the protest stresses.

In order to prevent any incidents, and to secure full security for fighter aircraft pilots and the civilian population we express our most serious protest over the provocative flights at low altitudes, says the letter to the UNPROFOR Command.

Government, Serbian Military Officials Hold Talks

AU1904114693 Paris AFP in English 1137 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, April 19 (AFP)—Serb and Moslem guns were reportedly quiet Monday [19 April] outside Srebrenica, a day after U.N. troops arrived to supervise the evacuation and demilitarization of the besieged Moslem town. [passage omitted]

Shannon Boyd, a spokeswoman with the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), said both Moslems and Serbs appeared Monday to be respecting the cease-fire which should allow the evacuation of the wounded to proceed without much difficulty.

U.N. helicopters took out 133 wounded Sunday to the larger government-held town of Tuzla, to the northwest, and were continuing the operation Monday. Officials in Tuzla said most of those being evacuated Monday were wounded soldiers, some of them having legs amputated as soon as they arrived. [passage omitted]

According to the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA, Serb and Moslem military officials met at 11:00 a.m. (0900 GMT) Monday at the neutral territory of Sarajevo airport.

The agency said [Bosnian Serb General Ratko] Mladic and his Moslem counterpart, General Sefer Halilovic, were to meet at the same site Monday afternoon. [passage omitted]

Buha: Warring Sides Must Resolve Peace Plan

LD1804150493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1353 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 18 (TANJUG)—All disputed parts of the Bosnia-Herzegovina peace plan must be resolved in direct negotiations between the three warring sides—Serbs, Croats and Moslems, foreign minister of the Bosnian Serb republic Aleksa Buha has stated.

In an interview published on Sunday by the Novi Sad Daily DNEVNIK, Buha said that only 20 percent of the map drawn up by international mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen was disputed by the Bosnian Serb side. The map proposes that the war-ravaged former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina be divided into ten semi-autonomous provinces, mostly along ethnic lines.

Buha repeated that Bosnian Serbs could not accept that part of the map under which their mutual links and the links with Serbia would be cut off.

He said this had been explained to U.S. and Russian peace envoys Reginald Bartholomew and Vitaliy Churkin during their visit to the territory of the former Yugoslavia last week.

The Serb side proposed to the mediators three plans for resolving the one-year-long crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, said Buha.

The first implies a continuation of negotiations on the disputed areas alone. The second proposes a return to the maps drawn up at the start of the negotiating process, when the talks were sponsored by the European Community and mediated by Portuguese Ambassador Jose Cutilheiro. These maps were accepted by all three warring sides, said Buha.

The third proposal takes into account the ethnic balance in the provinces, he explained.

The Vance-Owen map would leave almost a half of the Bosnian Serbs in the provinces controlled by Moslems or Croats.

'We had the impression that Mr Churkin [Russian envoy to the Bosnian peace talks] saw our initiatives as fair, cooperative and compromising,' Buha said and added that, on the other hand, 'The U.S. envoy, Mr Bartholomew, rejected everything and insisted that the Serbs immediately and unconditionally sign the entire Vance-Owen package.'

'It seems that Mr Bartholomew did not come to Belgrade to mediate and seek ways for further negotiations, but to threaten the Serbs to sign the Vance-Owen plan,' said Buha.

Suffering of Bosnian Refugees in Turkish Camp

93BA0864C Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 93 pp 28-30

[Article by Filip Svarm: "Life Against Destiny"]

[Text] Istanbul, Mar—The refugee camp Kirklareli is in the European part of Turkey, 230 km from Istanbul. The camp is surrounded by barbed wire, it is guarded by Turkish soldiers, and about 1,700 refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina are accommodated in it. The refugees, mainly women and children, live in prefabricated bungalows from Germany; every day they stand in line for food, for the toilet (approximately one for every 200 persons), for humanitarian aid.... They say that they have everything, even more than is necessary, and there is no shortage of the basic needs of life. The signs in the camp, which is overflowing with Bosnians, are in Turkish: In the offices, staffed by Turkish administrators, there are pictures of Kemal Ataturk, Turkish flags are flying everywhere, and if it were not for the speech with the characteristic accent of the refugees, there would be no trace or sound of Bosnia.

Turkey and Bosnia

Representatives of the Human Rights Fund in Belgrade set out for the Kirklareli refugee camp from Novi Pazar in one of the now well-known buses carrying tourists and smugglers in which the only conversation is about trade and earnings. Although political issues and nationality questions are taboo topics, someone nevertheless did remark that in 1912, that is, 71 years ago, this journey would not require crossing three borders—at that time it was one state. It is estimated that about four and a half million Muslims from the territory of the former Yugoslavia are living in Turkey today. There, large-scale resettlement began back in 1876, when the Turks withdrew from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and then after the Balkan wars, and then again in the 1950's and 1960's following World War II, and finally, following the wars that broke out in 1991 and 1992. There is a quarter in Istanbul with about 200,000 inhabitants where it is really difficult to figure out where you are—in Turkey or in some Muslim town in the former Yugoslavia? A large majority of emigres who are members of the emigre society Dernek have left many relatives in parts of the Balkans that have blazed up in the fire of war and are now trying to get them out, at least temporarily, and put them in a safe place. In addition, members of the Dernek Society are also helping all the other refugees—they are collecting clothing and money, and they even put up some in their own homes. They say, and those who have received the aid agree, that they have collected an incredibly large amount of humanitarian aid and that the emigres (they say that most of them have prospered—private businessmen in the textile and leather and similar businessmen) have displayed a solidarity that is amazing. They have entirely preserved their language and customs. The older people hardly use the Turkish language at all, at weddings they sing only "our" songs, and Serbo-Croatian is spoken wherever possible. In any case, in addition to refugees, of whom it is said that about 18,000 are registered, Bosnia and Herzegovina is present in Turkey thanks to the main news items on news programs and posters. That is, in addition to warrants for the arrest of the "Kurd terrorists," Turkish cities are papered over with posters whose color photographs show children killed in Sarajevo, mosques set afire, and chickens pecking at human brains. Above the photographs are the words Bosnia-Hertzek.

Day After Day

The refugees accommodated in the Kirklareli camp mainly have gone through the offices of Dernek. After they received the most necessary aid there, they were transferred to the camp and put up in the bungalows—one room with a concrete floor covered with Itison carpeting, a few beds, and a gas stove; with its 15 or so square meters, it is supposed to be sufficient for three or four persons. The life that has followed after that has come down to aimless loafing from one meal to the next. Some of the children go to Turkish elementary and secondary schools, but, as they and their parents say, they get little from it because they barely understand the language. So that a great many of them are not attending school at all. Nevertheless, some 40 or so boys and girls have begun at the age of six to learn their first letters and numbers. A teacher from Mostar with 26 years of experience took a notebook in A-4 format and composed from memory a grade book and class list as used in the former Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and is now teaching six-year-olds how to read and write. He says that he is following the former syllabus, abbreviated because of the well-known conditions, and that he does not have a single textbook. The kids copy and read what is written for them on the board. Their parents, more precisely mothers, because the fathers are on the battlefield, in camps, or who knows where, but in any case not here, wash clothes, clean their modest premises, and drink weak and sweet Turkish coffee in large quantities under the sun of early spring. They talk about what they left behind, about houses burned and looted, about persons close to them of whom they have not known for months whether they are alive or dead.... They also talk about the camp, about conditions in it, that is, about other places where life is better and easier. As it is for all refugees, life, the real thing, has been left behind, and the better one is somewhere else.

"In Denmark, I tell you, it is as though you had been there for 10 years, and you have absolutely everything you need," says a young woman with a child in her arms. The bus from Kirklareli to Denmark was departing right at that moment, and the refugees were saying good-bye to one another. The bus costs 350 German marks [DM] per person, so when the Macedonian bus started up with some 50 passengers, stories also began about rich and poor, those who are honest, and those others. The have-nots were asking one another how it was possible that until yesterday they were all standing in line together and receiving humanitarian aid, and today some of them pull out from somewhere more than DM1,000 and go off with their family where there is everything—"absolutely all you need." In Kirklareli, that is, DM1 is bigger than the fifth wheel on a tractor, and no one is particularly surprised when the Turkish authorities catch one of the refugees selling articles of clothing given to them in aid. Some of the women say that the 30,000 liras they receive per family member is not enough for all the things the children need and that they simply have no other choice. And then there are cigarettes, coffee, and sugar, that is, everything that can bring some kind of light into the gloom of camp life. Nevertheless, profiteering from the troubles people have in common has not ceased even here. Thus, at one point a justice of the peace from Sarajevo turned up and began to "taxi" the refugees around in his Golf automobile which had been magically transported to Turkey. Likewise, from time to time various individuals turn up, representing themselves as fighting men of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina who have come "on assignment" to collect aid and mobilize the young men (there are about 200 to 300 of them in the camp), and then if they collected anything, they would disappear without a trace. In the periodic conflicts with women that arise when they are asked if they are not ashamed to wait in line with them, individuals like that provide the men with an argument as to why they did not go to the front.

A Slap in the Face

Every evening, families, friends, and acquaintances gather around the small transistor radios that often were bought with the last money that remained, and they listen to the news. They listen over medium frequency, except for Radio Sarajevo (programs on which members of scattered families say where they are), especially the regular news programs on Radio Belgrade and Radio Novi Sad. There is complete silence while the announcers are reading the news on the buzzing transistors. All the faces are serious, one cheap Turkish cigarette after another is lighted, coffee is drunk by the liter. They listen with particularly close attention to reports on the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and brief comments are made in the pause between items. "The Serbs are made of steel; bullets bounce off them," an old man says as he rolls a cigarette after a news item from Pale. Next comes an interview with Dr. Radovan Karadzic in New York about the prospects of war and negotiations. "If life and destiny allow," an old woman says as she pours coffee, "just God let me meet Karadzic face to face, I will tell him everything, only the truth, and in that way..., that way..., I will give him a slap in the face, and let him know."

There is hardly a person in the Kirklareli refugee camp who has not lost someone in the war. There are even children who have lost both parents. A 12-year-old boy tells how they hid in the woods above their village in the vicinity of Foca for a month, how his father was murdered and his mother raped. He spoke coolly, precisely, almost indifferently. Not for a moment did he smile, even when the topic changed and went on to the different quality of chewing gum in Bosnia and Turkey. The light is gone entirely from his light-blue eyes. He has the look of an old man with endless experience of life. He says that now he must take care of his mother, his younger sister, and his grandmother. He also says that he will get revenge. Asked on whom, that is, whether he will also leave some children without their fathers, after he fell silent and thought it over, he calmly said that he knew who it was and that they all have first names and last names. He is only waiting long enough to be given a gun. A woman in her forties, who was looking for something in a neighbor woman's bungalow accidentally found a photograph showing her husband and brother. She looks at the photograph from 1985, showing auxiliary police in uniforms, marching gaily in single file. Her husband was first in the line and her brother brought up the rear. Most of them are no longer alive—this is known for certain in the case of some, it is assumed with great certainty for others. She cries quietly as she looks at this column of dead men, but her hands begin to shake so much that she is unable to pour the coffee she has made. She tells about the last time she saw her husband, son, and brother nine months before, when Serbs, neighbors from a village in the vicinity of Foca, herded them off somewhere down an alley with pointed weapons. First, they beat them badly, tore up the documents they took from them, removed their leather jackets and wedding rings, and took their money. No one ever saw them again, nor has anything been heard concerning their fate.

There is no need for special explanation as to the extent of the abhorrence, indeed hatred, toward Serbs in the Kirklareli refugee camp. The refugees say that their immediate Serbian neighbors told them not to be afraid, that they would protect them, and that later some of these neighbors were the first to attack them. An old man from the vicinity of Rudo tells how his son was killed while he was tending the cows, how he was killed by an unknown Serbian soldier accompanied by three local men, and how he covered the son's body with thorns, because he could not bury him immediately, so that the dogs would not carry it away overnight. Nevertheless, all in the camp say that they would not be here if there had not been Serbs who extricated and helped them. The people from Foca say that it was prohibited for Muslims to go in the street and associate with one another. Police vehicles with loudspeakers cruised through the city and warned them about this. Shut up in their homes, they survived because their Serbian neighbors, with great risk to themselves, brought them food on the sly. They also say that after the conflict broke out in Foca, on 8 April 1992, a column of some 100 Serbs and Muslims set out from Donje Polje toward the center of the city and absolutely refused to separate when numerous Serbian military and police patrols demanded it.

They go on to mention some of their Serbian neighbors who defended them with firearms, often risking their own lives. One of the camp inmates from the athletic center in Brcko, wearing a badge with the image of Josip Broz Tito on his lapel, said that he had been saved after mistreatment by a lieutenant of the military police of the Serbian Republic along with a group of his fellow sufferers, transporting them from Brcko to Bijeljina, whence they reached Belgrade. During the trip, the lieutenant pulled his pistol several times on majors of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], and when they reached Bijeljina, he divided his money among nine Muslims, saying that he himself had now had enough, that he could not help them anymore, and that now they could "go to hell." He later heard that the lieutenant had been murdered precisely because of this act. "Where would we be now if there were not human beings in every people?" says a woman in her thirties who had spent two months in the Partizan Sports Arena in Foca. She says that the women prisoners there were taken away to be raped every evening and that the abuse they experienced is simply indescribable. She says that the greatest crimes in Foca were committed by Janko "Tuta" Janjic and his band and that Montenegro had filed a request with the Serbian Republic to extradite him because of the murder of the Klapuh family near the Mratinje Hydroelectric Power Plant. Tuta, she alleges, promised the Klapuh family that he would take them from Foca to Niksic for DM1,000, but he committed the murder in order to take from them the savings which they were carrying. There was no extradition because criminal elements have all the power in Foca.

Other people from Foca mention Velibor Ostojic, Slobodan Maksimovic, and certain others in the context of war criminals.... They say that Foca is a classic example of ethnic cleansing, that there were three camps (the Foca Culture and Education Center, the high school, and the Partizan Sports Arena), that the Muslims were taken from the local hospital and murdered, that there were large numbers of people shot on the bridge over the Drina, from which the blood was washed away the day after the massacre by tank trucks.... "Why all of this, why did this war of ours happen?" are the questions which the inmates of the Kirklareli refugee camp are constantly repeating, and they look back with nostalgia on the Yugoslavia of "Comrade Tito." His prestige and the "brotherhood and unity" which he represented are esteemed here as in few other places. The refugees say that there was a particular effort to demolish dwellings in which the soldiers of the Serbian Republic found his picture.

Destiny, Life, and Death

The immense majority of the refugees housed in the Kirklareli camp hope that they will sometime return to their villages and towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina. All plans for the future begin with "if destiny and life allow." No trace of Alija Izetbegovic's Bosnia and Herzegovina exists here. There are no newspapers, no propaganda, no direct news whatsoever "from home." The refugees say that in the consulate of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Istanbul (Haris Silajdzic's sister is said to be the main "boss") they want DM350 for a passport, and that in Sarajevo it costs DM3, so that many are applying to the consulate of the FRY for whatever documents they can get. They also say that Muhamed Cengic, at one time the second man in the B-H Government, is at the moment concerned about nothing at all but his own private business in Turkey. They say that he once delivered a speech to them in which he said that all he owned were his suit and shoes, but they know that he was lying and that he lives in an exclusive quarter of Istanbul.

The refugees from Kirklareli live for all practical purposes from one day to the next. Turkey means nothing in particular to them—this is only yet another of the foreign countries in which they are scattered. Food with countless spices does not suit them, nor does strong tea (Turkish coffee is drunk very little in Turkey), and the question of identity is arising. That is, in an Islamic country the name "Muslim" cannot be the name of a nationality, because all are Bosnians—Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. That is how it happened that an elderly peasant in the camp asked another one "To what nationality do these Turks belong?" "There is everything here," came the reply, "Jews and whatever your heart desires."

Bosnia and Herzegovina is in any case far away. The victor, whoever it is, will one day write the history. In the meantime, the refugees will suffer and seek their near and dear on the muddy battlefields of the Balkans, and there are already too many corpses on all sides. The journalists will try to describe and explain everything. Only death, as Danilo Kis once wrote, is certain. Death in the only total warfare in Europe since 1945.

Army Reportedly Hitting Civilian Targets in Novigrad

AU1904170193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[Excerpt] As reported by the Press Center of the Headquarters of the Serbian army of Krajina in Knin, the attacks, which the Croatian Army started last night, continued this morning. The Croatian Army pounded the civilian targets and positions between (?Nadina) and Pridraga in the Novigrad hinterland for three hours last night.

Stari Gaj was shelled with multiple-rocket launchers. Civilian targets in Obrovac also came under artillery fire. In Lika, Vojnovac, Teslingrad, and Pocitelj were attacked by snipers. The Headquarters of the Serbian army of Krajina stated that the protest and intervention through UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] have not produced any results. After that, the Serbian army responded to all Croatian Army attacks. The same source also stated that leaflets with a hostile content were found in Drnis and the surrounding area. [passage omitted]

UNPROFOR Charges Radio Censorship

AU1804183093 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 9 Apr 93 p 27

[Article by Igor Alborghetti: "UNPROFOR Programs Are Censored"]

[Text] The freedom of the press is a basic achievement of every democratic society, but the freedom of the press and of the mass media in general is not being discussed very much in Croatia now. Here is the latest "media" case.

Several days ago, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] spokeman John Mills said in a news conference in Zagreb that "the United Nations in Croatia is, once again, concerned about censoring UNPROFOR radio programs." These programs are regularly broadcast on the first and second radio channels of Radio Croatia. It has repeatedly happened that the programs have been forbidden without any later explanation, although UNPROFOR asked Radio Croatia for it.

We asked Ivanka Lucev, manager of the Radio Croatia First Network, to comment on these statements. "Radio Croatia and UNPROFOR have agreed that we have the right to edit and censor those UNPROFOR programs which conflict with the Croatian Government's official policy and the editorial policy of Radio Croatia," she says. In the talks leading up to this agreement, Mr. Magnusson, who was representing UNPROFOR, agreed with these requirements and added "that UNPROFOR would try not to put Radio Croatia in such a position." According to Lucev, this is also reflected in a contract signed by both sides.

On the other hand, the UNPROFOR spokesman maintains that the only thing they agreed on in these talks was "that they do not agree." "During the talks the representatives of Radio Croatia demanded required the right to censor and change our programs, but we considered this unacceptable and there was no decision in the end," Mills says.

According to the information obtained from UNPROFOR, 214 programs have been broadcast and eight have been refused air time by Radio Croatia. Lucev thinks that there were valid arguments to censor these programs. The decisions on what will be and will not be broadcast are made by her or by the editor on duty.

"They let us secretly know in these programs that they recognize this "krajina" and that the Croats in Sector South are a minority," Lucev says. According to her, this was the case in the UNPROFOR program on the situation in the southern sector after 21 January, which was broadcast after certain sections had been removed.

"For them the 'krajina' is always the Krajina with a capital K," she says. Mills showed us the transcripts of the problematic programs in which the capitalization was used, but in these materials the noun "krajina" was spelled with all capital letters. He also said that the same UNPROFOR programs were broadcast on Serbian radio at the most popular hour. He complained that Radio Croatia did not want to discuss a change in f the broadcast time, which is also a big problem.

"It is well-known that many UNPROFOR programs are, by the choice of subject matter, much more critical toward the Serbian side than toward the Croatian one," Mills says. The U.N. officials say that the U.N. Protection Forces want to show through these programs what they are doing and what are their approaches to implementation of the Vance-Owen plan. If Radio Croatia has problems with what we say in our programs, we shall be happy to discuss these problems with the people from Radio Croatia who decide on what can be broadcast," Mills says.

Things are not that simple, confirms the radio station in Ilok, a small Croatian town which was among the first communities occupied by the Serbs. That program very tastelessly tried to present the life of the inhabitants there as idyllic and completely quiet. You can imagine how the people who had to flee the town a year ago and leaving everything behind felt when they heard about the quiet and idyllic life in Ilok. Lucev told us that this program was broadcast after long hesitation.

The UNPROFOR spokesman admitted that "there were commentaries in this program which were not all right," but that they were open to justified criticism. According to what he says, UNPROFOR has always corrected its mistakes. Ilok was an unfortunate episode, in his opinion, but this cannot be said about all UNPROFOR programs.

Mills says that there might be some facts in their programs which probably do not make the Croats happy, but this does not mean that these facts are not true.

It is clear that in a situation of neither war nor peace, the Croatian Government must be very careful about the information broadcast in the news media. At the same time, Mills goes on, UNPROFOR is trying to use the mass media to discuss the duties assigned to it by the international community. Croatia must learn not to pretend that there are no bad things at home.

"This is clear," Lucev says. "It does not concern us if UNPROFOR says in its programs that, for example, the Croatian Government is bad. They can say this. Whether we will like it or not is another thing."

It remains unclear what the connection is between the portions of the interview cut from program no. 207 (Croatian version), in which Mills gives details on the number of the Serbian refugees after the Maslenica action, and the editorial policy of Croatian radio. The phrase "thousands of Serbian refugees" was transformed into "thousand Serbian refugees."

A similar thing also happened in program no. 206, in which the part on UNPROFOR activities was not broadcast. Under the present circumstances, the UNPROFOR do not want to make too much fuss about it because the Croatian audiences have enough reasons to be very careful about the U.N. interpretation of certain events. It would help if UNPROFOR were wiser and more moderate, because there are approximately 250,000 displaced Croats in Croatia who expect the U.N. Protection Forces to enable them to return to normal lives.

Radio Croatia is, on the other hand, behaving like a supreme court judge, claiming the right to "protect" its listeners and to decide what they can hear in UNPROFOR programs and how they can hear it. The Croatian audiences already know almost everything about UNPROFOR anyway. Especially about the "objectivity," which includes the "sharing of responsibility."

Lucev says that Radio Croatia is not able to disassociate itself from the UNPROFOR programs, as it is possible in Western countries for a radio station to contract with someone wishing to broadcast via its transmitters. Subsequently, the radio station disassociates itself from these programs. Unfortunately, Croatian law does not allow such an option.

Serbian Body Denies Claims of Camps, Deaths

LD1904161793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] In today's letter to the public and to the government department for general affairs and protocol, members of the executive committee of the Community of Serbs in the Republic of Croatia [Zajednica Srba u Republici Hrvatskoj—ZSRH] energetically distance themselves from—we quote—a claim made by ZSRH Executive Committee Chairman Milovan Skoric about the existence of five concentration camps and about 80 women and children of Serb nationality allegedly being killed near Pakrac, which Skoric made during talks between Serb representatives in the Chamber of Deputies of the Croatian Assembly and a Russian parliamentary delegation on 15 April.

The executive committee members also deny the claim that the ZSRH has documents about this and that it has handed them to the international community. The ZSRH executive committee members state they do not know on whose behalf, on whose authority and on the basis of what evidence Mr. Skoric hastily stated this in front of a very important parliamentary delegation, thus making a serious accusation against the Republic of Croatia and all of us. They ask, by whom, with what authority, to what purpose, and within the framework of what protocol was Skoric invited to the talks, and demand that the relevant bodies investigate the truthfulness of the accusations which Skoric made against all citizens of the Republic of Croatia. They also demand that a session of the ZSRH executive committee be urgently convened.

'Ustasha' Reportedly Clashing with 'Partisans'

AU1604192593 Split NEDELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Mar 93 p 8

[Article by Marinko Culic: "An 'Uprising' Against the 'Ustasha'"]

[Text] Rumor has it that a senior official in the Croatian authorities tried to please a German colleague, whose host he was, by incorporating into his greeting the "observation" on the double alliance of Germany and Croatia. What he said was that we had been allies in World War II and we are allies in the present situation as well. The German visitor courteously passed over this analogy in silence, but the expression on his face clearly indicated that he considered it extremely tasteless and clumsy.

The Germans, in spite of their vacuum-like denazification, which they carried out so sincerely and openly that they managed to build one of the most respected of today's democracies, are once again an object of suspicion. If they must once more bear this cross, albeit this time far less deservingly than the first time, they consider it completely illogical that they should shoulder someone else's in addition to their own. However, it is doubtful whether his Upper Town [the old part of Zagreb which houses the government buildings] host understood this at all. In present day Croatia, the reverse reading of history seems to be spreading. Although the Germans, Japanese and Italians are today the most energetic promoters of the "allied" spirit, despite the fact that they formed the Axis, it seems that in Croatia, the "Axis" spirit is strengthening, although we belonged to the victorious coalition. The consequence is that today, Croatian anti-fascists are subsequently losing the war, although they are considered to be the toughest and most successful members of the group that won it. While only yesterday the media were tastelessly overproducing them, today they are just as tastelessly avoiding them. Even in wider coffee house social circles, it is deemed tasteful to refrain from discussing the subject.

A Ring of Silence

The ring of silence is so tight that a dissonant note only reaches the public when those who have genuine protection from abroad choose to raise their voices. This happened in the case of the recent protest of the Zagreb Jewish community, which protested against the initiative of a "group of citizens" who wanted the street next to the Faculty of Philosophy [Filozofski Fakultet] to be named after Mile Budak [World War II Croatian fascist]. The protest was successful, so the "Zebic Commission", usually favorably inclined toward this kind of renaming, this time said no, obviously out of fear that there might be renewed suspicion about Croatia, and especially about the president personally. However, since the Commission had calmly allowed the whole campaign for the Budak street to go ahead, so that the effect of the renaming was partly achieved, it was expected that this time the Jewish community would not be satisfied with just protesting against the renaming, but that it would ask for a reassessment of other already adopted and implemented renamings. Moreover, Slavko Goldstein has announced the initiative of a group of intellectuals, who will "ask for a law to be passed that will prohibit the glorification of the fascist period and the denial or tempering of the atrocities committed during that time."

What we have here is a lawful prohibition long practiced in countries whose laws we were otherwise apt to copy, even when reasons for this were not as justified as in this case. Therefore, Goldstein's group had reason not only to launch this initiative, but also to ask for a public explanation as to why a state, otherwise known for urgently passing a huge number of laws, suddenly starts dragging its feet when it comes to passing a few anti-fascist regulations. The question is even more pertinent because these are not regulations to protect somebody's individual interests, but rather the interests of the community as a whole. Otherwise, the anti-fascist achievements would not be found in the preamble to the Croatian Constitution where it says that—"unlike the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia (1941)" [Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska]—they are one of the "bases of state sovereignty." Yet, in spite of this, the protection of general interests is left to the lobbying of the Jewish community and SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the People's Liberation War], as if the 70,000 members of the veterans' organization and the far less numerous Jews are indulging in some fashionable and exotic hobby of theirs'.

The Leading Protagonists Are Not in Parliament

It is logical that in such a situation we have semi-public meetings where the remaining "lovers" [zalubljenici] are discussing how to sustain this recognized-unrecognized achievement. One such meeting recently assembled 20 veterans of the NOB [National Liberation War] and anti-fascists, who met at Josip Manolic's initiative to discuss the possibility of putting the veterans' organization in touch with Croatian war veterans. However, they also discussed the growing right-wing radicalism. Moreover, there was mention of organizing a protest against Ustasha and pro-Ustasha radicalism, after the example of the Berlin anti-fascist gathering led by Chancellor Kohl. Nothing about the meeting leaked to the public, (the media were not invited and they themselves did not show any curiosity), but Ivan Fumic, president of SUBNOR, confirmed in Ljubljana REPUBLIKA that the meeting had taken place.

It can be supposed with a high degree of certainty that this meeting was one of the peak points of the latent division into "Ustasha" and "partisans", which has lately considerably rocked the Croatian political leadership. It remains unclear however, just to what extent it reassembled the dispersed Croatian anti-fascist forces, and to what extent certain subsequent events (Manolic's departure from the leading post of the Office for the Protection of Constitutional Order) point to a quite opposite conclusion. A chance to check this occurred during the parliamentary session at which Vice Vukojevic presented his report on the work of the Commission for the Establishment of War and Post-War Casualties. However, this chance was watered down from the start by two circumstances—that the report was a mere synopsis of the Commission's work, and that in parliament there remain but a few "partisans," who have lately been joined by an even smaller number of "Ustasha". What remains therefore, is a possible dialogue between the "new anti-fascists" and the "new fascists", but none of them was in a hurry to fulfill the expectations of a head-on collision, for which the anti-fascists and fascists of the old guard are usually ready. Nevertheless, it was possible to make out a dividing line between two parties: the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] and the HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party]. The liberals introduced into the session the recognizable flavor of their own party activity, which can be summed up in their inclination to opt for form rather than content. Rather than distinguishing between fascism and anti-fascism—the majority of their discussions is laced with the conviction that there have been honest and dishonest parties on both sides—they insisted that Parliament is not the place where one passes historical judgments, and asked that this be handed over to scientific institutions (as B. Kovacevic mentioned, one such institution had once been headed by President Tudjman, so he ought to know what belongs where.)

Therefore, this was an attempt at demonstrating how a solution for even such a leaden issue could be reached by way of a more correct parliamentary procedure, which seems pretty far-fetched and suggests that the liberals did not want to get entangled in a polemic that they consider to be a family feud within the HDZ. However, there was no quarrel between the HDZ members in parliament, partly owing to the fact that the leading protagonists do not sit in the same assembly halls, and partly because the outcome (with the fall of the government as the first consequence) is not being played out in Parliament. An additional reason was Dobroslav Paraga's angry intrusion into the debate. Paraga feels personally threatened that the quarrel between the "Ustasha" and the "partisans" will deprive him of something he considers to be his own. By hurling the exclamation "When you say 'ready for the fatherland' ['za dom spremni', the official Ustasha greeting during World War II]—you are lying", at the HDZ members, Paraga wanted to show resolutely that he still considers himself to be the only "true Ustasha," and that he will not be deterred by petty "tricks," such as members of parliament recently introduced, who have it in writing that they really were Ustasha. It was Paraga's most daring foray into unchartered territory to date, but it helped the hard-line HDZ radicals to draw attention to themselves. Some made direct (Seks), and some indirect (Vukojevic) use of this.

What does this quarrel between the "Ustasha" and the "partisans" mean, is it something positive because it helps a speedier crystallization of relations within the ruling party, or is it negative because it takes up the already cluttered space within which Parliament operates? The opposition representatives' ideas on this matter differ greatly, and there are those who prefer to keep their opinions to themselves. Dino Debeljuh, from the IDS [Istrian Democratic League], says for NEDELJNA DALMACIJA, that he does not have enough elements to make conclusions. Miljenko Madjor, from the HSS [Croatian Peasants' Party], says the same. This is the surest sign that the outcome of the conflict is still being awaited, and that it is considered that the ratio of power is so uncertain that making any prognosis is an unenviable task. Moreover, this is such a complex conflict that some people are anxiously forecasting that what will follow will be either a democratic outcome—or a showdown with sawn-off shotguns. Miko Tripalo of the HNS [the Croatian National Party] has a less dramatic view of the situation, but he warns that this is really a dangerous conflict which could prove fatal for Croatia's future.

Can the HDZ be "Cheaper"

According to Tripalo, this is not a conflict between "Ustasha" and "partisans", because generationally it cannot be one, but it is a sharp conflict between the authoritarian and the democratic option. As always, the decision depends on one man—Tudjman, who is responsible for introducing representatives of both trends into the political leadership, but one cannot forecast what he will do. In his missive [poslanica], he opts for antifascism, yet in everyday life we often get quite opposite signs. All this has turned into a knot that is now very hard to undo—believes Tripalo. Ljubomir Antic from the HSLS, sees the conflict differently. According to him, despite all the dangers involved, the conflict is desirable because it indicates that the HDZ is finally turning from a movement into a party. It is, of course, awkward that the HDZ has practically "occupied" the republic's political life with its internal conflicts. However, if this is the price that has to be paid in order to achieve true multiparty rule, then it should not be considered too high—Antic believes.

One could consider the situation from a different perspective. A certain price, not small, has already been paid (primarily Croatia's tarnished reputation abroad). Therefore, we can and must demand that the HDZ be "cheaper".

German Ambassador Interviewed on Aid For Croatia

LD1804093093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0909 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Zagreb, April 18 (TANJUG)—In an interview published in the latest issue of the Zagreb weekly GLOBUS, German Ambassador to the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Horst Weisel said that Germany was sending humanitarian aid to Croatia but that it would not give loans for economic development of Croatia.

Asked why Germany was not so active in the peace talks on ending the war in the former Yugoslavia, Weisel said that his country had withdrawn for a while because it has been exposed a lot at the time of the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia. 'Our friends from the European Community have criticized us for our role in the recognition of the former Yugoslav republics,' Weisel said.

Germany's influence was decisive for the international community's attitude towards the secession of the former Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia, which were recognized as independent states in January 1992. Croatia's hopes that great financial assistance for its development would follow from Germany have not been fulfilled. However, large quantities of weaponry for Croatian Army are arriving from Germany, violating the arms delivery embargo imposed on the territory of former Yugoslavia in October 1991.

Government Discusses, Approves Price Increases

LD2004032793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Excerpts] At this evening's session, which was partly open to the public, the Croatian Government discussed about 30 items on the agenda. Among other things, it approved a 40 percent average rise in prices of basic oil derivatives. [passage omitted]

The price of natural gas was raised by 50 percent and of electricity by 69.2 percent. The cost of passengers and freight was raised 42 percent. Phone charges were raised by 40 percent, and the price of letters and postcards by 33 percent and 30 percent. The radio and television fee is going up by 25 percent.

The price of a kilogram of flour is going up from 100 to 280 Croatian dinars. The price of a kilogram of brown bread is going up from 125 to 450 Croatian dinars. [passage omitted]

Stipe Mesic: 'Serbia Must Lose'

AU2004104293 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Apr 93 p 3

[Interview with Stipe Mesic, chairman of the Croatian National Assembly, by Zoltan Gyevai; place and date not given: "Stipe Mesic's Interview With the MAGYAR HIRLAP—Serbia Must Lose"]

[Text] "Serbia must lose, in both the military and political fields. Only this can recreate the conditions for cooperation between the peoples that are living in the area of the former Yugoslavia", Stipe Mesic, Yugoslavia's last president, said in his brief interview given to MAGYAR HIRLAP.

[Gyevai] Being the last president of the now fragmented Yugoslavia, what are your views now, after nearly two years: Could the south Slav war have been avoided?

[Mesic] No. Belgrade has always considered Yugoslavia to be an extended Serbia. The 1974 Constitution did contain some elements of confederation. We wanted a full confederation. However, this would have endangered Serbia's goal of concentrating in Belgrade all the financial resources which originated in other parts of the country. A confederation would have meant discussion and settling common matters. We would have had to establish the prices of things and how much the various sides would pay. Serbia has not yet given a reply to this proposal. More precisely, it answered with 400 airplanes and 200 tanks. They thought that they would be able to deceive the world with their tale about oppression and the threatened position of the Serbs. Their army destroys everything that is not Serbian. The world—that kept silent for too long—forbade Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina to defend themselves. Now it is the world's task to stop Serbian aggression.

[Gyevai] Does the unresolved Serbian-Croatian debate foreshadow a renewal of the conflict between Belgrade and Zagreb?

[Mesic] Serbia must lose, in both the military and political fields. Only this can recreate the conditions for cooperation between the peoples that are living in the area of the former Yugoslavia. As long as the Serbs concentrate on grabbing areas that do not belong to them, normal dialogue cannot be started. There is a constant danger that the war may escalate. In my view, the flight ban over Bosnia-Herzegovina is a first step against Serbia. The next step is for international forces to line up along the borders between Serbia and Croatia and Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. This will mean the end of the Serbian expansionist policy and may lead to peace.

[Gyevai] What are your views on Croatian-Russian relations and on Russia's role in handling the Bosnian crisis?

[Mesic] Serbia's current leaders expect the conservative forces to come to power in Russia. They base their policy on this. However, in my view, democracy cannot be stopped in Russia. This means the failure of Milosevic's politics. Actually, we are expecting a Russian parliamentary delegation to visit Zagreb, and I will soon travel to Moscow.

VOJSKA Says Serbs Being Forced From Homes

93BA0866A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Apr 93 pp 9-10

[Article by Dragoljub Jeknic: "Exterminating a People"]

[Text] The Serbs are no longer second-class or third-class citizens, but simply a people excluded entirely from the concept of people as understood by the Croatian authorities. It is not enough to say that the attitude toward the Serbian people in the Republic of Croatia has been steadily deteriorating. The Serbs are not in fact a people. They are the ones who are to be forced to leave, and if they do not leave, to convert to Catholicism. They are to be reduced to the level of awareness of the nonexistence of a people, to the level of precisely that awareness which is the official mindset of the authorities of the Republic of Croatia.

From a List in the Newspapers to Threats and Bombs....

The decision of the Republic of Croatia that a maximum of 2.5 percent Serbs may remain on its territory has been known for a long time, but even those 2.5 percent cannot be Serbs, but at the outset converts to Catholicism, and then later, of course, pure-blooded Croats. This decision has been elaborated by all opstina authorities, and steps have been taken to realize it consistently. Even the media are involved in carrying out this decision. The decision, then, is in fact being carried out publicly, but nevertheless also perfidiously.

The newspaper POSAVINA HRVATSKA, which is published in Slavonski Brod, has taken its job in carrying out that decision very seriously. In every issue for the last six months that newspaper has been publishing lists of unfit Serbs, and it has done so precisely, by regions and villages. POSAVINA HRVATSKA knows, of course, that those are Serbs who at one time voted for the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], and this is an unforgivable sin, this is dirty work that is not permitted in the democratic and civilized Republic of Croatia. They have to be driven out of their villages, from their homes, from the homes of their ancestors for centuries.

As those lists are published, others become involved one after the other in the further effort to carry out this decision of the Republic of Croatia. Most frequently it is organized on an individual basis. Before the day is out, they make telephone calls to the Serbs on those lists published in POSAVINA HRVATSKA and call upon them with curses to leave, to leave the millennial Croatian homeland. They are followed by people with bombs and bursts of gunfire. The bombs are thrown on Serbian houses precisely indicated on the lists of POSAVINA HRVATSKA, and the bursts of fire from automatic rifles shatter the windows and riddle the doors of Serbian houses, barns, auxiliary buildings, cars, tractors, and everything else. There have also been somewhat milder measures, for example—official decisions that their houses are scheduled for demolition and they must move out have been delivered to such Serbs. They have been driven from their land through legal procedure solely because they are Serbs and Orthodox.

Of 100 Serbian Houses, 10 Have Remained

From the village Luzani alone, 90 of 100 Serbian families have left their native place and sought refuge in the FRY. So, of 100 families, 10 have remained. But a month has passed since those figures became known. Perhaps since then even those 10 families have moved away. Perhaps even today Luzani is ethnically pure, without Serbs, without those who have been its householders and authentic inhabitants for centuries.

The village Klokocevic has meanwhile been emptied completely. All the Serbs from there have set off eastward with bundles in their arms. Who knows where they will settle? After all, wherever they go in Vojvodina, in the FRY, and wherever they seek any kind of accommodations, some of the opposition newspapers will find a reason for seeing this as an act of ethnic cleansing by the Serbs, as was the case, for example, with the village Hrtkovci. According to a segment of the Serbian opposition, the Serbian refugees from Croatia should not settle down anywhere, should not stop anywhere. According to what the Serbian opposition writes and thinks, this ought to be a new people—a people lacking a civilization, a people of wanderers through space, a people never stopping even to rest, a strange biblical people to be made sport of by every voluble opposition metamythologist.

When it comes, then, to the exodus of Serbs, "important results" have been achieved on the territory of Slavonska Pozega Opstina, Virovitica, Podravska Slatina, Nasice, and Nova Gradiska. The opstina authorities in those regions are rubbing their hands contentedly: The Serbs are leaving or converting to Catholicism, the Serbs are in fact disappearing, the Serbs are melting like winter ice, and that does not worry anything, on the contrary!

None of those people who are leaving, who are moving away, who have been canceled in the outlook of the Croatian state and Croatian statehood, cannot sell their farms, their property. Of all they possess, they can carry only personal effects.

Impatient Persecutors

Croatian neighbors, but also other Croats who arrive, often do not have patience to wait until their Serbian neighbor is at least mentally prepared to leave, to go around his farm for the last time as is fitting for a man to do, to memorize the way the fruit trees were set out on his land, the way the mulberry or walnut tree looks in the yard, the height of the hedge marking the boundary, the color of the tiles on the roof. They do not have the patience to wait until the Serbian neighbor repairs something in his workshop, which he will be leaving, the bent corner on a tractor plow, which he will be leaving, because it would not be nice, not like a good farmer, to leave it bent, to fit in a tile where it fell out because of the burst of gunfire or explosion from a bomb thrown intentionally, because, like a good householder, he really cannot leave without putting everything in order. Often, then, the Croatian neighbors do not have the patience to wait until the Serb puts everything in order and leaves, but they come and they hurry him, as though he should leave the fire in the hearth which he had not made. Croatian neighbors come and remind the Serbian householder that it is time, and not only do they come and issue a warning—they come and sit in the householder's armchair, in the householder's chair beside the stove, and they wait for him to finally set out—they are keeping watch over the things, so that the householder does not somehow smuggle them out, does not given them to anyone else, does not alienate them in any way, as though those things are not his, belonging to that Serb, but belong to the Croatian neighbor or the Croat who has come from elsewhere.

But, be it said, even that is better than being thrown into the Sava River with a stone around your neck. The Serb is hardworking and will build another house; there will also be land. Serbia is a large country. Much larger than others think and than it seems to them. It is 100 times larger in the souls of Serbs than it appears on the map.

The conversion of Serbs in the Republic of Croatia has been talked about for a long time as an absolutely certain fact. The newspapers have written about tens of thousands of converts in Zagreb, Rijeka, Split, Zadar, and other cities in Croatia. It is certain that process has gone still further in the countryside.

In any case, conversion is taking place in the church and in the opstina. A Serb who converts is given a new first name and last name. Not only, then, as it was in early conversions, a first name, but also a last name. In order to erase any trace of Serbian existence, the existence of Serbs in particular areas. So that one day there will even be no memory of the tribe of Serbs in those parts.

What Would Jesus Say

All converted Serbs must automatically, down to the roots of all roots, forget that they were Serbs, absolutely lose memory of their own Serbism, to make of themselves those who all but did not exist until now, but only now have sprung up, not just as Catholics, but even as human beings.

As of the moment when they take the new faith, the new sign of Christ, or better said of Satan, all converted Serbs must become true Croats, better Croats, Croats more devoted to Croatism than those others, because those others need not prove themselves, but they must constantly prove that they have managed not to be what they were and to be what they are now.

What grievous things, things which humiliate and degrade the entire human race, which erase and decompose a man's purpose to meaninglessness!

However, all of this is being done without great ceremony, without ringing bells, quietly, but systematically, with a highly developed Latin ease for driving someone totally mad and depriving him of even that limited human knowledge and outlook.

What would Jesus Christ himself say about all of this, if by some chance he should arise or come down from heaven? Did not he himself go through suffering, carry the cross, and endure the crucifixion on that cross on behalf of man in general, not just the Christian, but his mind, that encompassed all humanity, and his spirit, that encompassed the entire universe, could never have suspected that a Catholic Christian would persecute an Orthodox Christian, or the other way around?

List, Biographic Data of Ambassadors

93BA0838A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
19 Mar 93 pp 48-49

[Article by Mihailo Nicota: "All Our Ambassadors"]

[Text] *Today, 14 months after international recognition, 29 Croatian ambassadors are active in the world. Who are the people representing the interests and interpreting the policy of their young state?*

Croatia today has its own name, place, and role in the world. To a great extent that is also due to its young diplomatic service. During the 14 months since international recognition, two fundamental characteristics of Croatian diplomacy, it seems to us, have been proven to be indisputable. In the first place, also thanks to the organizational capabilities of the present minister, Dr. Zdenko Skrabalo, the construction of its very complex system of activity is almost complete—the hierarchical pyramid on Visoka Street in Zagreb, without which one cannot conceive of rapid reaction to the demands of the times and effective action by the young state in response to the challenges of the modern world.

In the second place, so far there are already 29 Croatian ambassadors active throughout the world—the diplomatic emissaries of the young Croatian state, the representatives of its interests and the interpreters of its policy. According to some foreign opinions as well, this is an imposing number in such a short time, especially in such difficult (wartime) conditions. At this time we are interested in an answer to the query posed to us by many curious people: Who are currently the Croatian Republic's ambassadors, and in which countries throughout the world are they already active? Of the 29 current Croatian ambassadors in the world, 14 of them, almost half, have a doctorate in various sciences, about 10 are university professors, and three of them spent the greater part of their lives abroad as prominent members of Croatian emigrant communities.

Dr. Ivan Brnelic, ambassador to Austria (Vienna): born in 1936 in Donji Jelenj, Rijeka; received a degree in economics in Zagreb and a doctorate in Rijeka, worked as a manager in trade, transportation, and maritime companies in Rijeka, and was mayor of that city (1984 and 1985) and the SFRY's ambassador to Vienna from 1990, where he spoke out in favor of Croatia.

Frane Krnic, Chile (Santiago): born in 1943 in Zadvar, Omis; received a degree in law and a master's degree in Nancy, worked in legal institutions until 1971, and then devoted himself to diplomacy (among other things, he was a consul in the United States and a counselor at the Yugoslav Embassy in Rome), and as ambassador to Santiago, he was the first to cross over to Croatia's side with all the embassy's personnel.

Vanja Kalodjera, United Arab Emirates (Abu Dhabi): born in 1936 on Korcula; received a degree in economics in Zagreb, worked from 1974 to 1984 in Cairo as the director of the INGRA [Industrial, Civil Engineering, and Construction Export Association] representation, from 1985 on he was the marketing director of that business association in Zagreb, and in 1991 he left to be Yugoslav ambassador in Cairo, but he soon "opted" for Croatia.

Dr. Ivica Mastruko, Italy (Rome): born in 1940 on the island of Ugljan near Zadar; received a degree at the Philosophy School in Zagreb and a doctorate in Ljubljana, and as a competent expert on religion and the Catholic Church, was a university professor in Zadar, involved in journalism and politics on the side, and then, among other things, was mayor of Zadar (from 1978 to 1982) and Yugoslav ambassador to the Holy See at the Vatican.

Croatia has filled the positions of ambassadors to all five countries that are permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Dr. Petar Sarcevic, United States (Washington): born in 1941 in Subotica, received a degree in law in Zagreb and a doctorate in Mainz, worked as a lawyer in Subotica, and from 1976 on was a lecturer, a special and regular professor of international law at the Law School in Zagreb, then dean of the Law School in Rijeka, and finally rector of Rijeka University; he has been a guest lecturer at many universities in Europe and the world.

Niko Bezmalinovic, Russia (Moscow): born in 1939 in Selci on Brac; received a degree in economics in Zagreb and from 1965 on worked continuously for the foreign trade organization Koteks in Split, from administrator to general director (from 1975 on), and he also participated in business with the former USSR.

Branko Salaj, France (Paris): born in 1932 in Zagreb; studied law in Strasbourg, received a degree in economic and political science in Stockholm, where he lived after he emigrated from Yugoslavia in 1951; he worked as a manager and adviser for many Swedish companies, and was an active member of the Croatian community in Sweden, and after his return to independent Croatia, he was an adviser to President Tudjman and minister of information.

Dr. Zeljko Bujas, Great Britain (London): born in 1928 in Pag; received a degree in English and Russian in Zagreb, and then worked continuously as a professor in the English studies department at the Philosophy School in Zagreb; he is a prominent expert on American studies.

Andrija Kojakovic, China (Beijing): born in 1950 in Dubrovnik; received a degree in economics in Zagreb, worked in management positions at INA-Petrochemistry and INA-Commerce in Zagreb, where he cooperated a great deal on fertilizer exports with the Beijing firm Sinochem.

In addition to the above-mentioned Mastruko in Rome, another three ambassadors are in the neighboring countries.

Miljenko Zagar, Slovenia (Ljubljana): born in 1938 in Gospic; graduated from the Theology School in Zagreb; he was a teacher of music, philosophy, and theology in Zadar, engaged in printing and publishing activity, was the director of Skolska Knjiga in Zagreb, and from 1990 to 1992 he was a high official (business secretary) of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] and a deputy in the Assembly.

Dr. Aleksandar Solc, Hungary (Budapest): born in 1934 in Veliki Gejovci, Trans-Carpathian Ukraine; received a degree and a doctorate at the Technology School in Zagreb; he was a researcher at INA in Zagreb, then a professor of asphalt technology and dean of the Construction School in Zagreb, and finally dean of the Construction School and rector of Osijek University.

Dr. Zdravko Sancevic, Bosnia-Herzegovina: born in 1931 in Crkvena near Teslic (Bosnia-Herzegovina); left the country with his parents in 1945 and from 1947 on lived in Venezuela; received a degree in oil engineering and a doctorate in Pennsylvania (United States) and worked in the Venezuelan oil industry, and was also active among Croatian emigrants; he was the first ambassador who submitted his credentials in Sarajevo under bombardment.

Ive Livljanic, ambassador to the Holy See (Vatican): born in 1938 in Mrljani on the island of Pasman; graduated from the Philosophy School in Zagreb, was a secondary school teacher of French and Italian in Zadar, worked in tourism and translated religious articles, and from 1990 to 1992 was mayor of Zadar.

Dr. Ivan Ilic, Germany (Bonn): born in 1934 in Prijeboj near Korenica (Lika); graduated and received a doctorate from the Electrotechnical School in Zagreb, where he engaged in scientific and professional work for 34 years; he was a professor, and finally a dean, and as a recipient of the Humboldt scholarship, he visited German scientific institutes several times, where he also lectured.

Janko Vranyczany-Dobrinovic, Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg (headquartered in Brussels): born in 1920 in Bedekovcina, to an old Croatian noble family (his father and mother were barons); he studied law in Zagreb, emigrated in 1945, received a degree in journalism and law at the Lateran Academy in Rome, dealt with marketing and tourism at many European companies, and finally was minister of tourism in independent Croatia's first governments (1990 to 1992).

Dr. Onesin Cvitan, Ukraine (Kiev): born in 1939 in Tribunj near Sibenik; received a degree in law in Zagreb and a doctorate in Split, where he was a professor and dean of the Law School, and he was also mayor of that city from 1990 on.

Sergej Morsan, Spain (Madrid): born in 1945 in Karlovac; received a degree in architecture in Zagreb, worked as an expert on marketing abroad, and also at INGRA; finally, from the end of 1991, he was an assistant foreign minister for international economic cooperation.

Zlatko Stahuljak, Czech Republic and Slovakia (Prague): born in 1933 in Zagreb; received a degree in ethnology at the Philosophy School and in the viola at the Music Academy in Zagreb, where he was a professor; he appeared as a solo violist and as a member of various musical groups in Yugoslavia and abroad, and was a manager of the HNK [Croatian National Theater] in Zagreb in 1990 and 1991.

Another musician is Nikola Debelic, Romania (Bucharest): born in 1934 in Zagreb; graduated from the Music Academy in Zagreb and was a professor at the Pedagogical School in Pula.

Also an artist is Milivoj Slavicek, Poland (Warsaw): born in 1929 in Cakovec; received a degree in literature in Zagreb and is a very well-known writer, first of all a poet; an excellent expert on Polish literature, history, and culture.

Bernardo Jurlina, Bulgaria (Sofia): born in 1945 in Zivogosce near Makarska; received a degree in economics in Zagreb, worked in foreign trade, until 1990 was president of the Croatian Federation of Trade Unions, and then until 1991 Croatian deputy prime minister and minister of labor.

Hidajet Biscevic, Turkey (Ankara): born in 1951 in Sarajevo; graduated from the Political Science School in Zagreb and engaged in journalism; he was a commentator, an editor, and finally chief editor of VJESNIK.

Neven Jurica, ambassador to Australia and New Zealand (headquartered in Canberra); born in 1952 in Dubrovnik; received a degree in literature in Zagreb and engaged in literature; from 1990 he was the HDZ's political secretary, and from 1991 on chairman of the Assembly's human rights committee.

Dr. Vinko Kandzija, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya (headquartered in Algiers): born in 1944 in Bristvica near Trogir; received a degree in economics and a doctorate in Rijeka, dealt with international economic relations and integration processes in Europe, and was assistant minister of foreign affairs.

Dr. Osman Muftic, Iran (Tehran): born in 1935 in Sarajevo; received a degree and a doctorate and was a professor at the Mechanical Engineering and Shipbuilding School in Zagreb, and in 1990 was minister of science in the first Croatian government.

Finally, there are four ambassadors to international organizations and institutions. Dr. Mario Nobilo, head of the permanent mission to the UN (New York): born in 1952 on Korcula; received a degree and a doctorate at the Political Science School in Zagreb; an expert on international relations and international security; worked as a researcher at the Institute for Developing Countries and the Institute for International Relations and Development in Zagreb; he is a co-founder of the Croatian Council of the European Movement, and he was President Tudjman's foreign policy adviser (1991 and 1992).

Dr. Miomir Zuzul, head of the permanent mission to the UN European office (Geneva): born in 1955 in Split; received a degree and doctorate in psychology at the Philosophy School in Zagreb, where he was also a special professor of developmental psychology; a member of the HDZ; during 1992 he was an assistant "personnel officer," and then deputy foreign minister and President Tudjman's national security adviser.

Dr. Ante Cicin-Sain, European Community (Brussels): born in 1935 in Split; received a degree in economics in Hamburg and a doctorate in Heidelberg; he engaged in research on international economic relations, and was a professor at the Foreign Trade School in Zagreb, a UN and UNCTAD [UN Conference on Trade and Development] adviser on monetary issues, and governor of the National Bank of Croatia from 1990 to 1992.

Dr. Darko Bekic, head of the mission to the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe]: born in 1946 in Zagreb; received a degree in economics and a doctorate in international relations in Zagreb; engaged in journalism and scientific work as an associate at the Institute for International Relations and Development in Zagreb and the Kennan Institute in Washington, and was also a foreign policy adviser in the Office of the President of the Republic of Croatia from 1990 to 1992.

Government Bans Import of Livestock, Milk

AU1504180693 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] At today's session, the Slovene Government decided to close the borders to transport of livestock, meat, and milk from EC countries, Austria, and Croatia for 15 days. The decree will come into force today.

Kucan's Views on Slovene-Italian Talks

93BA0867D Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 31 Mar 93 p 3

[Article by Boris Suligoj: "Negotiations With Rome, Not Trieste"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] In the negotiations, it is not possible to establish as a starting point the situation that one side would like to achieve in the end, Milan Kucan said, among other things, in Koper.

Koper, 30 Mar—"Slovenia can go calmly to the Council of Europe with respect to the regulation of relations with Italy and the Italian minority. Whether we can be satisfied with what has been achieved is a different matter, however," said President Milan Kucan, who met this morning in Koper with the presidents of the coastal municipalities and executive councils, and at the same time (this time he did not meet separately with minority representatives) with representatives of the coastal self-governing nationality communities. As he emphasized, Slovenia, because of its exemplary attitude toward both nationalities, has always been able to cite it and demand a similar level of protection for the Slovene minority in Italy and Austria.

"It is always necessary to emphasize again," Milan Kucan said, "that Slovenia has assumed and inherited all the intergovernmental Yugoslav agreements, and that Italy has ratified them. The states have thus regulated their mutual relations under international law, and the only question is whether all the problems between the states have been most appropriately solved. It is still necessary to talk about this, but not between Ljubljana and Trieste—negotiations between Rome and Ljubljana are needed!" The Slovene president thought that in the negotiations, it was not possible to establish as a starting point what one side would like to achieve in the end. Likewise, one negotiating state cannot interfere in the internal structure of another, and at the same time prejudice its relations with a third state.

"With respect to the border between Slovenia and Croatia, they ought to be aware that the border regime cannot be any different until there is peace in Croatia, and until the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina is eliminated. Unfortunately, a settlement of the situation in Croatia does not depend just on our good will, and to a great extent it does not depend on the Croatian authorities either. Specifically, it is not just a question of the border between two newly emerged states. At this time, it is the border between European peace and war. It is thus understandable that it is a different border than it would be between two states in peacetime. The border is closed—not for Slovenia's sake, but rather Europe's. The Slovene economy is the economy of a state at peace, but Croatia is still at war. With such different situations at present, it is not possible to speak of any sort of free trade zone or customs union. It is also in Italy's interest to have relations between Slovenia and it regulated as well as possible. Destabilization of that border means the destabilization of Europe and the spread of the war area to Slovenia's northern border. In this regard, let me recall that the Osimo agreements were the first result of the Helsinki documents!"

Milan Kucan rejected the fear present in Slovenia about Slovenia's inferior position in negotiations with Italy.

The president of the coastal self-governing nationality community, Daniela Paliaga-Jankovic, explained to Kucan the problems that the minority's members would like to settle. Primarily, they would like to achieve the legal and institutional unity of the minority in Slovenia and Croatia. They support all initiatives that would contribute to development of the area, and consequently also the initiative for Slovenia's inclusion in the EC, and ties with Italy and Croatia, and the border regions ("Everyone's development also means the possibility of development for the Italian minority"). They want to participate in all renewal processes in the state and in privatization processes, and they are convinced that they are the joint heirs of all the goods that were confiscated through nationalization. The regime on the border with Croatia is too rigid for them. The provisions of the Udine agreement should apply to the entire Istrian area. Aurelio Juri added that the leadership of Slovene RTV [Radio-Television] was inappropriately reducing the Koper TV program intended for the Italian minority by two hours a week, and refocusing it for the needs of the Slovene minority in Italy.

Austrian Politician Cites Slovenia's 'Expansionism'

93BA0867C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 31 Mar 93 p 1

[Article by STA/APA: "Joerg Haider on Ljubljana's 'Unusual Bullying'"]

[Text] Celovec, 30 Mar—The president of the Austrian Freedom Party [FPO], Joerg Haider, sharply criticized the Slovene Government today. He criticized Ljubljana for conducting a "Greater Slovene policy" and having claims upon Carinthian territory. At a news conference in Celovec, Haider literally spoke about Ljubljana's "unusual bullying."

The FPO president and the FPO's representative in the Carinthian provincial assembly, Martin Struz, and Carinthian minority representative Fritz Schretter presented as proof of their claims an encyclopedia just published in Slovenia, which shows parts of Carinthia as an "integral part of Slovenia." According to the statements by the FPO politicians, in that encyclopedia "a third of Carinthia is legitimately shown as Slovene territory."

Haider also showed a book with the title *Coins and Seals of Slovene Cities and Markets*, in which the Beljak city seal is shown as the Slovene state symbol. In a certain international Slovene publication, a map is also supposed to have been printed with a text that likewise describes parts of southern Carinthia as an integral part of Slovenia.

According to Haider, that kind of "propaganda hostile to Carinthia" is also being conducted in bilingual Carinthian schools and at the Celovec university. As proof of his claims, the FPO president cited a series of instructional aids and instructional material that did not comply with Austrian school legislation. Schoolchildren are being indoctrinated with things that do not match the historical truth, he emphasized. The minister of education thus watched helplessly when it was taught in Carinthian schools that between 1918 and 1945, a policy hostile to minorities exclusively prevailed in Carinthia.

In connection with the criticisms of the Slovene Government, Martin Struz added that Vienna did not oppose new borders. There is even "broad support for the Greater-Slovene daydreaming." Minority representative Fritz Schretter also sharply criticized the Slovene associations in Carinthia, which asked the state for 115 million schillings for 1993. That is particularly disgraceful because the amount requested has tripled in the last three years. While the amount for 1990 still amounted to 12 million schillings, the amount of the request for 1992 already reached 36 million schillings. One of the items in the requests, according to Schretter, was also 195,000 schillings for Tito's former Partisans.

Data on Foreign-Owned Banks in Slovenia

93BA0867E Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 31 Mar 93 p 4

[Article by Goran Novkovic: "Sometimes They Are Already Seriously Bothering Domestic Banks"]

[Text] Currently, among the 32 banks established in Slovenia, there are several in which foreigners have a majority or minority share. The banks with a majority share of foreign capital are Creditanstalt-Nova Banka, Bank Austria, Ljudska Banka Celje (the former Styrian Trade and Enterprise Bank), Factor Bank (it has not yet begun operation), and Ljubljana Bank-Development Bank (five Italian enterprises have a majority share). Foreigners also have a minority share in A Banka and the Brezice Mortgage Bank, and foreigners are only symbolically co-participants in the capital of other banks in Slovenia as well.

According to the director of the department for overseeing bank operations at the Bank of Slovenia, Srecko Korber, all these banks have been established in Slovenia and they also have their headquarters here. They are also operating under the same regulations as all other banks in which Slovene citizens or legal persons have majority ownership. All the foreign banks are completely autonomous legal persons.

In setting interest rates for assets and liabilities and the compensation for performing banking services, all banks in Slovenia, including foreign banks, are completely free. It depends on bank clients (depositors and borrowers) which bank they will do business with and on the basis of what interest rates. With respect to interest rate policy, there are no restrictions, and consequently they are set by the market.

In comparison with domestic banks, banks with a majority foreign share so far do not have any significant share of the market in Slovenia. "In individual transactions (for example, collecting citizens' foreign exchange deposits in the recent past, conducting foreign payment transactions, and so forth), some banks with a majority foreign share are already very competitive," Srecko Korber said.

According to statements by Darko Bohnec, the deputy director for central bank operations at the Bank of Slovenia, there are two overall systems for protecting bank deposits in the world: an implicit protection system and an explicit protection system. The former is based on the role of institutions in the financial system, which have specific powers by law. If they exercise those powers correctly, there should not be any difficulties with paying bank savings deposits. In that kind of system, the central bank is the bank for all the banks.

The laws on central banks define the task of taking care of banks' overall liquidity. The central bank makes sure that the banks are capable of fulfilling their obligations, including their obligations to depositors. Furthermore, the central bank controls the quality of banks' operation, and in the event of difficulties in the operation of an individual bank or weaknesses identified in operation (those weaknesses are also precisely defined by Slovene law), the central bank has to take steps with respect to the bank. The Law on the Bank of Slovenia specifies in advance the mechanisms for adjusting banks' daily liquidity immediately, and when the conditions are ripe for it that are specified by the laws on the preliminary rehabilitation, rehabilitation, and bankruptcy of banks. If the institutional system thus establishes works and the banks operate freely, there are no difficulties.

"Explicit systems for insuring bank deposits are necessary in cases in which an individual bank goes bankrupt. The mechanisms for guarantees on deposits are different in the world. Two approaches are predominant: a system of insurance in which risk funds are formed, and a system for guaranteeing funds by agreement, (usually) within the banking system, in the event that there are difficulties at one bank (solidarity loans). In paying insurance premiums for guaranteed deposits (the first approach), it is an expense that is paid in advance. With solidarity loans, the expenses are only paid when difficulties occur at a certain bank. Usually the two approaches overlap in the world: Insurance premiums are paid for a risk fund, and a volume of guarantees is specified on the basis of a previously agreed-upon solidarity among the banks. In developed countries, such a system is usually voluntary and is based on a contract. The volume and type of the deposits guaranteed differ among countries," Darko Bohnec said.

In Slovenia, we already have the Law on the Insurance of Savings Deposits in Banks and Savings Banks, and the establishment of an agency for this type of insurance is also planned. According to Darko Bohnec, in addition to this system of guarantees for the payment of deposits in banks and savings banks, a system for insuring deposits in the event of the bankruptcy of a bank or savings bank is also planned. For objective reasons, this system has not yet been worked out in detail.

The World Bank thinks that it is a condition for the normal operation of an explicit deposit insurance system that the banks are "healthy" and have appropriate capital strength. We know with respect to the banking system in Slovenia, however, that the process of "healing" the banks has only begun. Further, we in Slovenia had to resolve difficulties with the foreign exchange deposits that could not be withdrawn from the banks. "We recently settled this, and we expect that the situation will soon be ripe for introducing an explicit guarantee for bank deposits as well," Darko Bohnec said.

Data on State's Public Debt

93BA0867B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 29 Mar 93 p 3

[Article by Marjeta Sostaric: "Our State's Public Debt"]

[Text] *According to a government estimate, it amounts to a full 430 billion tolars, which means a (still bearable) 36.2 percent of the estimated domestic gross social product.*

Ljubljana, 28 Mar—In the budget memorandum that the government sent to parliament together with the draft budget for 1993, for the first time the so-called fixed and guaranteed obligations of the Slovene state on the basis of the public debt were worked out in detail and presented. On the basis of the data collected by the end of last year and the obligations already overdue, which the state will have to settle, the debt amounts to a full $4.3 billion, according to estimates that are not yet quite complete. Everything that was formerly more or less the secret of enterprises, banks, and the state is now becoming a subject of public discussion.

According to the government's estimate, our state's public debt thus amounts to a full 430 billion tolars (converted to dollars at the exchange rate at the end of last year, it is $4.3 billion), and is about 36.2 percent of the domestic gross product. That should still be somehow bearable and acceptable. Those data, as already stated, are not yet final, since it is not yet known what the exact amount will be of our share in the undistributed debt of the former joint state.

For the fixed obligations, which include repayments on domestic loans and obligations, which are the state's liability because of unpaid foreign exchange deposits and those associated with the rehabilitation of the banks and the Slovene ironworks, the share in the public debt amounts to a full 358.8 billion tolars. A very large share of the public debt is associated precisely with the issuance of bonds to rehabilitate the banks (136.4 billion tolars) and the payments of obligations to foreign exchange depositors (60.5 billion). With the implementation of the law on rehabilitating the Slovene ironworks, another 15.5 billion tolars has to be added to the total public debt in this group of the state's fixed obligations, which, with the inclusion of other obligations resulting from issued bonds (in the amount of 43.8 billion tolars), together with Slovenia's obligations due to foreign loans and the repayment of our state's obligations from the "inherited" payments on debts for the overdue obligations on loans borrowed back in the joint state (succession), amounts to somewhat more than 358.8 billion tolars. Together with the state's guarantees for domestic and foreign loans incurred, the government's security for certain loans that banks gave to enterprises, and guarantees based on international agreements, this debt is increased further by somewhat more than 71.5 billion tolars.

For overdue obligations resulting from the public debt determined so far, during this year alone, Slovene will have to deduct almost 34 billion tolars, or somewhat more than $339 million, which represents 2.9 percent of the domestic gross product. A full 19.8 billion tolars ($198.4 million), or 1.7 percent of the gross social product, is to be spent on interest alone. That means almost an expenditure almost two and a half times more than last year, when the share of interest payments in the gross social product was only 0.5 percent. Furthermore, payments of domestic interest are to amount to 15.7 billion tolars, and payments of foreign interest 4.1 billion tolars.

The reason for such a large increase lies in the laws passed on the rehabilitation of the banks (that will take an additional 5.4 billion tolars out of the state treasury), citizens' foreign exchange deposits (4.4 billion tolars), the assumption of claims that Slovene citizens have against Iraq, Angola, and Cuba (1.2 billion tolars), and the rehabilitation of the Slovene ironworks (interest on bonds issued in the amount of 0.9 billion tolars). Since it is also necessary to take into account during this budget year the beginning of the repayment of the Slovenia 1 bonds and the transition to deficit financing of the state budget, according to the estimates by the preparers of the budget this should require approximately an additional 1.6 billion tolars, to which the interest for the repayment of current indebtedness during this year will accumulate. The planned monetary spending for the repayment of interest also includes 1.5 billion tolars for interest in repaying foreign loans for the railroad industry during the planned rehabilitation of the Slovene railroads.

The total of the Slovene public debt and the planned obligations (for the repayment of interest) still does not include the item of the former Yugoslavia's debts, since, according to the Finance Ministry's assessments, it can be expected that the final agreements with foreign creditors will still not be concluded this year. If that did occur, it would be necessary to ensure additional funds for the payment of obligations resulting from that unallocated debt, which, as we know, amounts to a total of about $3.1 billion, and according to which Slovenia, in all likelihood, would have to assume about 16 percent of the debt (according to the IMF's formula). Slovenia is trying to have as large a share as possible of the "unallocated debt" attributed to specific end users.

This year's debt repayments also take into account the obligations from the World Bank loan for Elan and the obligations to Italy on the basis of the Osimo agreements.

Slovenia's Public Debt
(in millions of tolars)

		Obligations due in 1993			
Type of obligation	**State of obligation as of 31 December 1992**	**Total**	**Interest**	**Principal**	**Guarantees**
A. Total fixed state obligations (1 to 4)	358,827.1	27,526.6	18,237.0	9,289.6	
1. State's obligations from domestic loans	14,605.2	2,275.1	307.1	1,968.0	
2. State's obligations from bonds issued	256,277.0	17,426.9	13,833.9	3,590.0	
—Obligations for unpaid foreign exchange deposits	60,512.0	4,440.0	4,440.0	0.0	
—Obligations for bank rehabilitation	136,400.0	5,400.0	5,400.0	0.0	
—Obligations for Slovene ironworks rehabilitation	15,500.0	930.0	930.0	0.0	
—Other obligations from bonds issued	43,865.0	6,656.9	3,066.9	3,590.0	
3. State's obligations from loans	42,555.0	6,409.6	3,575.0	2,838.6	
4. State's obligations from succession	45,390.0	1,415.0	522.0	893.0	
—Obligations for foreign loan repayment due to succession	11,390.0	1,190.0	297.0	893.0	
—Obligations from unallocated foreign debt	34,000.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
—Obligations for repayment of foreign loans after moratorium		225.0	225.0	0.0	
B. Total state guarantees (5 to 8)	71,533.9	4,800.0			4,800.0
5. State's guarantees for loans	1,138.0	573.1			573.1
6. Government's security for specific bank loans to enterprises	5,150.0				
7. State's guarantees for foreign loans	24,290.2	2,226.9			2,226.9
8. Guarantees based on international agreements (not previously covered)	40,954.8	2,000.0			2,000.0
C. Obligations based on the state budget's new indebtedness in 1993	0.0	1,600.0	1,600.0	0.0	
Total public debt	430,361.0	33,926.6	19,837.0	9,289.6	4,800.0
—Comparison with Slovenia's GSP	36.2%	2.9%	1.7%	0.8%	0.4%
—Obligations converted to US$ (at the US$ exchange rate at the end of 1992)	4,303.6	339.3	198.4	92.9	48.0

Federal

Army Denies Involvement in Bosnia Fighting

LD1904181293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1413 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—Following reports published in some American media about the alleged participation of the Yugoslav Army in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the information service of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army issued a statement today saying that these reports carried completely fabricated information with the aim of proving that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was allegedly to blame for the war.

The statement reads:

The media campaign carried out against the Serbian people and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as the information campaign preceding important decisions by international factors, illustrate a widespread practice of deliberate fabrication of events and production of reports for the public about such events. The task of demonizing the Serbs is being implemented through fabrication, as was the case regarding concentration camps on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, or the rape of 100,000 Muslim women, as well as the brutal Muslim actions against their own people—such as in Sarajevo's Vaso Miskin Street [shelling of bread line].

The situation around Srebrenica is the latest media event and a classical example of circulating biased reports and manipulations by the media, fabricating news, and preparing one's own public opinion for military operations. The international public did not react to the suffering of the Serbs of eastern Bosnia which went on for months, or to the massacre of over 1,200 women, children and old people and the torching of several dozen Serbian villages; yet the international public has been attempting by every means to prevent the defeat of the Muslim fundemantalists who were perpetrating crimes against the Serbian people.

In the same way, that same public has not been acquainted with the notorious fact the army of the Republic of Croatia has deployed over 50,000 troops since the beginnning of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in a classical case of aggression. By contrast, reports of the Yugoslav Army's participation are being fabricated so that the blame for the war can be attributed to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This example, too, exposes to full public view the coordinated operations of the Muslim-Croatian coalition and the governments of certain western countries. The General Staff of the Yugoslav Army has acquainted the public with the frequent armed provocations and attempts by the Muslim forces of eastern Bosnia to infiltrate sabotage and terrorist groups. However, the patrons of the new world order are not interested in this matter, since they know very well that the Yugoslav Army is not present in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that in this formerly Yugoslav republic the Serbs are fighting for their very survival.

Private Capital Succeeds in Avoiding Oil Embargo

AU2004104493 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 Apr 93 p 7

[Report by R. Gladic: "Gasoline Skipping Embargo?"]

[Excerpt] The old rule that money can buy everything has recently been confirmed by the private market in oil derivatives. Privately owned gasoline pumps are better supplied than they have been for a long time, and fuel is, by the way, officially under the UN embargo, that is to say, imports are "officially" blocked.

However, despite the harsh controls, oil and distilled fuel are still arriving in our country. Therefore, it is private capital that has "greased" the channels for transportation across the border.

The extent to which this is happening is best illustrated by what we have learned in conversation with domestic "oil magnates" (who did not want their names to appear in the newspapers). They say that it is no longer a rarity that "entire marshalling [marsrutni] trains" with 10 or more completely full tank cars (each holding 25,000-30,000 liters of fuel) are being "pulled" over the border. Three private businessmen have lately been particularly successful in this. [passage omitted]

Exports Continue To Fall; Imports Gradually Increase

AU1904170393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Yugoslav exports have continued to fall, while imports have started to gradually increase. This is stated in a report issued by the Federal Institute for Statistics. The value of Yugoslav goods sold all over the world in March was only $89 million. This is only one-third of the value of exports in the same month last year. Foreign salesmen delivered goods worth $460 million to our country, which is 8 percent more than in March last year.

The aggregate results for the first quarter of this year show that exports amounted to only $249 million, while imports stood at $836 million. The trade deficit in the fist quarter of this year was $587 million.

Serbia

Russian Delegation Says UN Sanctions Move 'Misguided'

LD1904210393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2008 GMT 19 Apr 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 19 (TANJUG)—Members of a delegation of the Russian parliament said on Monday [19 April] that the resolution of the U.N. Security Council imposing even tighter sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was totally misguided.

The delegation, headed by president of the Committee for Foreign Relations of Russia's Supreme Soviet Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, in a conversation with President of the Chamber of Citizens of the Yugoslav Assembly Radoman Bozovic said their visit to Belgrade at this moment was 'An expression of the Russian parliament's attitude towards the total isolation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia'.

Pointing out that in contrast to the Russian parliament and Foreign Ministry the Russian Congress and Supreme Soviet had been opposed to the imposition of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in May 1992, and that they had rightly [words indistinct] stressed that the war in the former [words indistinct] Bosnia-Herzegovina could not be halted by an embargo, the deputies said they would move that the Congress discuss the abolition of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as the congress (?is) competent to lay down foreign policy guidelines.

A statement issued by the cabinet of the president of the Chamber of Citizens said there was agreement during the talks that the only solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina lay in an unconditional (?cessation) of hostilities, and that only through negotiations was it possible to reach solutions that would be acceptable to all three of its peoples—Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

Bozovic said that 'Instead of electing to punish the Serbs, after proclaiming [words indistinct], although they live on their own land, the international community should have opted for a constructive pressure on all parties to the conflict in order to compel them to stop fighting and sit down at the negotiating table'.

Emphasizing the traditional friendship between the Serbian and Russian peoples, Bozovic said the expectations of the people and state authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were turned towards Russia, as it was 'A power, which, as a member of the U.N. Security Council, has a duty to exert its influence in the search for fair solutions in ending the war'.

Such engagement by Russia in the Security Council would serve to protect its authority, now in much jeopardy, he added.

Informing Bozovic that a session would be held in Moscow on May 5 of a commission for preparing a conference of spiritually related peoples, member of the delegation and president of the constitutional commission Oleg Rumyantsev said it was an opportunity to breach the information blockade and to explain what lay behind the unjustified sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the statement said.

The Russian delegation was also received on Monday by president of the group of deputies of the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) in the federal parliament Nedeljko Sipovac, who described the resolution on tightening sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as an unprecedented demonstration of force in the international community and a one-sided pressure on a country which was not (?involved) in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Stressing that the new resoution would not lead to [words indistinct] and lasting peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sipovac said peace could be achieved only if the war was halted and a solution sought by way of a consensus of the three constituent peoples in the former Yugoslav [passage indistinct].

Opposes New Sanctions

AU1904204193 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 19 Apr 93

["Excerpt" of interview with Oleg Rumyantsev, chairman of the Constitutional Commission of the Supreme Soviet and member of the Russian parliamentary delegation, by Zoran Jevdjovic in Belgrade on 19 April—recorded]

[Text] [Rumyantsev, in Russian with passage-by-passage Serbo-Croatian translation] In short, members of our delegation consider the resolution on new sanctions as completely (?inappropriate).

This resolution does not lead to the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. On the contrary, in my view this will only lead to the escalation of the crisis. The world organization has shown itself once again as a party that has some interests. It has shown itself to be a victim of one-sided comprehension of the situation. The events concerning Srebrenica were assessed one-sidedly.

I consider this Security Council's resolution as yet another attempt to disturb the balance in world politics. I am particularly angry that the Russian delegation did not veto this resolution. I am deeply convinced that Russia, especially the Russian Parliament, will do everything possible for normal life in Serbia and Montenegro, in the new Yugoslavia, not to be affected, regardless of the new sanctions.

I think that the opposition by President Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Kozyrev played the main role in this. We must rid ourselves of this illusion and understand that here in your region, in the Balkans, there is a clash of interests of big powers. We have realized that the activities of the world organization and the world media is only provoking the two sides in the conflict.

I think that the Russian Parliament should now undertake some sharper measures and play a great, more active role in the settlement of this problem because the voting by the Russian representative in the Security Council has also affected our Russian essential interests.

Seselj, Russians Disagree

LD1904214593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2051 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—A delegation of Russian parliamentarians headed by Yevgeniy Ambartsumov met Serbian Radical Party Chairman Vladislav Seselj this evening.

The leader of the Serbian radicals sharply condemned the latest UN Security Council resolution, stressing that the Serbian nation would fight for its right to self-determination.

Asked by members of the Russian parliamentary delegation to explain the difference between the status of the Serb people in Croatia and that of the Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija, Seselj said that the republic of Serb Krajina was created before Croatia was internationally recognized so Croatia cannot have sovereignty over territory over which it does not have real control.

Serbia was internationally recognized a long time ago, and Kosovo and Metohija is a territory over which Serbia has been exercising legal and real control, Seselj stressed.

He voiced the hope that Russia will again become a powerful state and that it will resist the totalitarianism threatening the world.

"One power is trying to dictate the life on planet Earth, destroying all international norms and human values," Seselj said.

The leader of the Serbian radicals underlined that Russia should "rise and show that it is the hope of the entire world." "Russia's battle is our battle," Seselj said.

A member of the Russian delegation reacted to this by saying that his understanding of democracy is completely opposite to Seselj's, and that he would not like to live in a country headed by Seselj.

Following a brief discussion about democracy, the Russian delegation head Ambratsumov got up and quickly ended talks with the leader of the Serbian radicals.

In a brief statement for the press, Seselj assessed: "Russia cannot help Serbia, because it cannot help itself."

Citizens Assuming Serbian Names

93BA0740D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 93 p 11

[Article by D. Todorovic: "When Mujo Becomes Milan"]

[Text] *Why some residents of Valjevo have changed their names.*

Although Serbia, according to its Constitution, is the "state of all the citizens living in it," members of ethnic minorities seem not to believe the Constitution and the state and are changing their individual and family names to Serbian forms. In Valjevo, for example, Mujo and Harum have become two Milans, Nurija is recorded in personal identification documents as Margita, Brkan has changed his surname to Petrovic, Vibovac has become Ninkovic, and so on.

And it is a simple matter to do this, since the law allows adults to change their names. An application is filed with a municipal administrative legal affairs division. After attaching an original birth certificate and Secretariat of Internal Affairs certificate attesting that the person is not under indictment for a crime or does not want to avoid some other obligation, this division issues an identity-change decision.

We did not find a large number of examples of given name and surname changes in the city of Valjevo with its around 100,000 inhabitants. But to find out why people who have carried their names from birth suddenly find that a Serbian name is better, we want to seek an answer to the question why people in areas immune to ethnic intolerance simply do not believe that Serbia is a state of all citizens. Surely it cannot be a question of fashion and romantic esthetic reasons. It must rather be that protective coloration is taken on to ensure personal safety and family peace.

This is evident from the reasons given by these new Serbs to the agency that "rechristened" them. Valjevo Nurija Simeunovic (born Berisa) changed her name to Margita, "because her child was having problems in school because of its name." Brkan Goran, a refugee from Jajce, decided to change his name to Petrovic "because he has the right to do so." Croat Vibovac Zeljko, a refugee from Vukovar, assumed his wife's surname, Ninkovic, "because this is better for all concerned." Macedonian Isailovski Filip has made a small change, deciding to call himself Isailovic, "because he had this name earlier." A native of Valjevo, Mujo Berisa, first changed his surname to Berisic, and then changed his given name to Milan. He gave as the reason that he was being conscripted into the Yugoslav Army. Krusik worker Hasanin Harun has "on his own initiative" become Asanin Marko, because he feels that he is a Serb.

It is interesting to note that none of the persons who have changed their identity and whom we have managed to reach wanted to talk. All have refused even to answer questions. Why? Possibly the best explanation is given by a female office worker through whose kindness we gained access to these data and who also wanted to remain anonymous.

"These are the only cases that I could find. But if Seselj takes over, more people will change their names, and we will move."

Kosovo

Rugova Allegedly Wants Assembly To Open in May

AU1604175993 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Apr 93 p 12

[Report by Milan Laketic: "Will Kosmet Get Two Assemblies"]

[Text] Pristina, 31 Mar—In coordination with the leader of the DSK [Democratic League of Kosovo], Ibrahim Rugova, the leaders of the Albanian political parties in Kosmet are hurriedly preparing to constitute their Kosovo assembly, although the question still remains as to how and when to proclaim the "Kosovo republic" assembly in the presence of guests and foreign journalists.

As commentators in Albanian language magazines published in the province observe, "this could be the immediate cause of war in these areas." However, regardless of the possible consequences, the DSK's Information Center estimates that "the assembly will probably be constituted on the anniversary of the Albanian elections," towards the end of May, that is.

For and Against the Province's Assembly

The other, Serbian side is also preparing for the constituting of the Kosmet assembly, because, according to Kosovo headquarters, conditions are ripe and they can no longer wait for the Albanians to make up their minds, since they have had enough time to think over whether they want to participate in the elections or not. Therefore, as Federal Deputy Vukasin Jokanovic recently said, we are waiting for the Serbian Assembly to pass a temporary decision that would establish the constituencies, the manner, and the time of the elections. Federal Deputy Basri Plana's Albanian Society did not agree with this because it believes that the time is not yet right for a Kosmet assembly. Because "the Albanians first need to return to law, order, and work", says Plana's spokesman, Fatmir Seholji.

Apart from Plana, the Socialist Party met with resistance regarding the announced elections among many Serbian intellectuals, church officials and, especially worrisome, among their recent allies—the Serbian Radicals. Milorad Jevric, leader of the Kosmet radicals and a deputy in the Federal Assembly, is of the opinion that this is "unnecessary." However, if the elections are held, said Jevric, the Radicals will participate in them with the goal of "using the constitutive meeting to help bring about a decision that will dissolve the Kosmet assembly and to initiate a constitutional procedure for dissolving the Province of Kosovo and Metohija."

While the SPS [Serbian Socialist Party] on one side, and the Albanian alternative on the other are intent on constituting two assemblies—one, the assembly of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija, the other, the assembly of the so-called Kosovo republic—Albanian political societies that are in opposition to the attitudes of Rugova and those of the Albanian President Sali Berisha, are using the publications that are to their taste for accusations "because the Albanians still have not united."

Visas Worry the Albanians

The international Albanian assembly, which started last Monday in Tirana, has not been spared, either. While not denying the organizers of the assembly (Mahmut Bakalji) their enthusiasm and patriotism, the Albanian Social Democrats have posed, to quote them, crucial questions: "What right does an anonymous initiative have to call itself national, when not all Albanian parties are participating in the assembly; how can an assembly proclaim itself to be pan-Albanian when there are other, legitimate assemblies established in 1992; and who has authorized them to draw-up a national program?" The Social Democrats have not yet received any answer, although other political associations, such as Qosja's [Kosovo Albanian intellectual] Forum of Albanian Intellectuals, are publicly asking who has authorized them to "discuss an Albanian national program." Judging by numerous reactions, what worries the public here is not the answer, but rather the decision of West European countries to introduce visas for citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the reciprocal measures imposed by our state.

According to the BBC, whose radio program in Albanian is edited by Veton Suroi, the Albanian leaders are in a panic because numerous foreign delegations will no longer be able to come freely to Kosmet and "spread the truth about Kosovo." Their arrivals will now be controlled. That is why Rugova is quoting this London source and asking West European countries and the United States to open information centers in Kosmet, that will serve as a substitute for foreign groups and journalists. At the same time, these centers would function as embassies, and they would be authorized to issue the Albanians with visas for the countries they represent.

Rugova and other Albanian leaders are of the opinion that without these centers, Kosovo will remain marginal in the international public, something that will "incredibly help" Serbia.

Leaders View Attempts to Suppress Assembly Meeting

AU1604192493 Tirana ATA in English 1212 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Report by ATA: "Reactions of Albanian Political Parties To Serbian Threats to Prevent the Creation of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosova"]

[Text] Tirana, April 16 (ATA)—Recently, the Serbian power in Kosova is particularly worried about the warnings that soon the constitutive meeting of the parliament of the republic of Kosova will be held. The worry of

Belgrade and the determination of the Serbian power to violently crush any initiative for the creation of the parliament of Kosova was confirmed recently by the Serbian minister of justice. He said in a statement that they will take the necessary measures up to imprisonment of the deputies of the assembly of the republic of Kosova if they gather for this question.

Regarding the threats of the Serbian power, the newspaper BUJKU carries a poll with representatives of some Albanian political parties.

Dr. Fehmi Agani, vice chairman of the Democratic League of Kosova, stressed on this occasion that the statement of the minister of justice in the government of Serbia, Tomislav Ilic, is an effort to legalize the power of violence, which Serbia imposed in Kosova. This is a brutal interference in the process of the creation of the legal structures of Kosova, respectively a denial of the legality of the republic of Kosova, formed in the most democratic way ever occurred in these areas. Luljeta Pula Beqiri, chairwoman of the Social Democratic Party of Kosova, said that during the recent days the Serbian regime has imposed a curfew in Prishtina and other territories of Kosova. She said that the Social Democratic Party of Kosova is of the opinion that the creation of the assembly should be carried out, even in illegality.

"I think we should not renounce the request to create our assembly," Dr. Rifat Blaku, member of the Presidency of the Parliamentarian Party of Kosova said. "We owe this to the people."

Rugova, CSCE Officials Focus on Rights Violations

AU1904142493 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 18 Apr 93

[Unattributed report issued by the Democratic League of Kosova: "President Rugova's Statement"]

[Text] President of the republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, gave this statement to the press after the talks with the US CSCE Congressional delegation:

"The mission of Senator Deconcini and Congressman Bill Richardson is very important. Mr. Deconcini, chairman of the Helsinki Commission of the UN Congress [as received], visited Kosova three years ago. Senator Deconcini and Congressman Richardson are very well acquainted with the Kosova issue.

"During the talks, we focussed on the drastic violation of human rights in Kosovo and the action that should be undertaken as soon as possible in order to prevent a conflict here. We presented our views as to the solution of the problem of Kosova. The American delegation expressed understanding as to the solution of our issue. The American Senate and House of Representatives have been supportive heretofore of the Kosova and Albanian issue. The delegation supported today the independence of Kosova, too.

"Today's meeting was a moment of friendly contacts between the representatives of Kosova and representatives of the American Congress."

At the end, President Rugova stressed that Senator Deconcini, Congressman Richardson and UN Congress are acquainted with his 10-Point Peace Plan on Kosova. "We will work its implementation," Dr. Rugova ended.

Court Jails Albanian Reporter Shala for 37 Days

AU1504160193 Tirana ATA in English 1208 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 15 (ATA)—The known Albanian reporter of the review ZERI and the publicist Blerim Shala was sent to jail on April 13 for 37 days imprisonment.

This sentence, according to a decision taken by the Serb courts in 1991, follows the imprisonment of the rector of the University of Prishtina, Prof. Dr. Ejup Statovci. Recently the Serbian authorities have frequently underlined through the Serbian propaganda that during the previous years scores of thousands of Albanians have been punished on various accusations. They also stressed that hundreds of thousands of indictments are waiting Serbian lawyers for trials. The Government of Serbia decided to bring in Kosova Serbian lawyers from 18 communes of Serbia. The Serbian authorities, including here the minister of justice of Serbia, the chairman of the Assembly of Serbia and others, during their visits in Kosova have threatened the Albanians with the increasing function of the juridical state in Kosova, which implies directly consolidation of the violence towards the Albanians.

The aim of imprisonments for actions staged by the Serbian courts is to cause fear among the Albanians, especially among those Albanians who under various accusations have been sentenced recently. To this end served also the imprisonment of known public personalities of Kosova. Thus, the Serbian authorities want to carry ahead ethnic cleansing in Kosova.